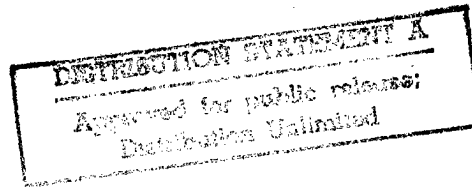


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5 April 1984



# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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5 April 1984

## EAST EUROPE REPORT

### POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

#### CONTENTS

##### INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

- Soviet Military Railway Through Hungary-Romania Described  
(Werner Kahl; DIE WELT, 9 Feb 84) ..... 1

##### BULGARIA

- Directive Regulating University Studies at Home, Abroad  
(DURZHAVEN VESTNIK, 3 Feb 84) ..... 3

##### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

- Participation of Masses in Administration Deemed Desirable  
(Milos Rehurek; NOVA MYSL, No 2, Jan 84) ..... 56
- Indra Praises Leninism, Attacks Revisionism  
(Alois Indra; TRIBUNA, No 8, 22 Feb 84) ..... 64

##### GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

- Third World Relations, Solidarity Projects Outlined  
(NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 24 Feb 84) ..... 70
- Convoluted Paths of SED's Western Publishing Business Analyzed  
(Werner Kahl; DIE WELT, 11 Feb 84) ..... 72
- Combine Managers State Production Goals to Honecker  
(NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 10-11 Mar 84) ..... 78
- Leading Jurist's Statement on Courts' Economic, Political Role  
(Heinrich Toeplitz; PRESSE INFORMATIONEN, No 28, 6 Mar 84) ..... 83
- Intentional Obstacles Beset Inner-German Sports Competition  
(DER SPIEGEL, 5 Dec 83) ..... 85

Scholar Asserts Workers' Satisfaction Spurs Performance (Karl-Heinz Thieme; DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE, No 1, Jan 84) .....	88
HUNGARY	
Dissident Discusses Diversity of Opposition Groups (Nagy Balint; JOURNAL DE GENEVE, 22 Feb 84) .....	99
POLAND	
Results of Torun Voivodship Reports-Elections Conference Reported (GAZETA POMORSKA, 13 Jan 84) .....	103
Account of Proceedings Miroslaw Milewski's Speech Summary, First Secretary's Speech, by Zenon Draminski	
Results of Zamosc Province Reports-Elections Conference Reported (SZTANDARD LUDU, 6, 7-8 Jan 84) .....	112
Proceedings Reviewed Executive Board Report Conclusion, Executive Board	
Results of Walbrzych Provincial Reports-Elections Conference (Tadeusz Dudz, Jozef Wieczorek; GAZETA ROBOTNICZA, 30 Jan 84) .....	118
Results of Krosno Provincial Reports-Elections Conference (NOWINI, 28-29 Jan 84) .....	124
Account of Proceedings, by Slawomir Balda, et al. First Secretary's Speech	
Results of Legnica Provincial Elections Reported (GAZETA ROBOTNICZA, 28-29 Jan 84) .....	133
Provincial Committee Plenary Meeting Provincial Committee Officers	
Results of Jelenia Gora Provincial Plenum Reported (GAZETA ROBOTNICZA, 18 Jan 84) .....	135
Reports-Elections Campaign Summed Up (Tadeusz Kolodziejczyk; ZYCIE PARTII, No 4, 15 Feb 84) ...	137
Party Activity Since Ninth Congress Evaluated (Stanislaw Opalko; NOWE DROGI, Nov-Dec 83) .....	141



Press Covers Borrowski Service Award, Birthday Honors (RZECZPOSPOLITA, 18-19 Feb 84; TRYBUNA LUDU, 17 Feb 84) ..	150
Jaruzelski Visit, Congratulations Biographic Sketch TRYBUNA LUDU 'Special Award', by K. Kraus	
Sociological Effects of Economic Crisis on Family Projected (Mikolaj Kozakiewicz Interview; RZECZPOSPOLITA, No 37, 13 Feb 84) .....	154

SOVIET MILITARY RAILWAY THROUGH HUNGARY-ROMANIA DESCRIBED

Bonn DIE WELT in German 9 Feb 84 p 7

[Article by Werner Kahl: "Soviet Military Railway Passes Through Hungary to Romania"]

[Text] The Soviet Union has put into operation a strategically important rail line using the Soviet broad-gauge system which leads from the USSR through the northeastern corner of Hungary to the Hungarian-Romanian border. Thus, according to experts on the East-European rail system the Soviets have built a wide-gauge rail line across the territory of a neighboring country (Hungary) as far as the border of a third country (Romania).

The public had received just as little information about the opening of the direct route, which is reserved for military transports and logistical equipment, as it had about the construction work that preceded it. According to information from Budapest's embassy in Bonn, for civilian travel the wide-gauge track continues to end at the border crossing into Hungary.

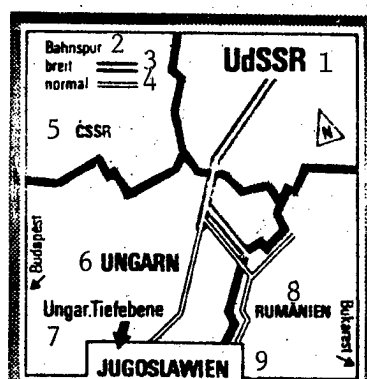
The new line is described as being single-track and not electrified. It runs parallel to an old existing Hungarian normal-gauge line. The route avoids the extremely difficult terrain of the Carpathian mountains and passes through the Hungarian lowlands. In the opinion of Western military experts an extension to the Yugoslav border is obviously being planned with the goal of continuing on to the Adriatic Sea.

The military-strategic importance of the special line is seen to be in the additional efficient transport link. In the case of the Kremlin's operative-strategic plans, in the event of hostilities in the southeastern Europe arena this should guarantee faster deployment and an improved supply line for equipment. The same applies in the case of intervention by the Red Army and Warsaw Pact troops for other reasons in the Hungary-Romania-Yugoslavia three-country triangle.

The first hints of plans by the Kremlin to lay a wide-gauge railway beyond its borders into the southeastern Europe were announced in 1974. According to a report in DIE WELT Romanian sources at the time had let it be known that during a visit by Marschal Jakubowski, the then supreme commander of the Warsaw Pact, Moscow had demanded the construction of a Soviet-gauge rail line

through the Romanian province of Dobrucha in a southerly direction. This rail line, which was rejected by the Romanians, ostensibly was even supposed to be extraterritorial and not be exclusively subject to Romanian sovereignty.

At the time the reports were very closely watched. Because Todor Shvkov, Bulgaria's party chief, prior to the announcement of such a plan had talked of the possibility of annexing his country to the USSR as "the 16th Soviet republic."



Key:

- |           |                       |
|-----------|-----------------------|
| 1. USSR   | 6. Hungary            |
| 2. Gauge  | 7. Hungarian Lowlands |
| 3. Wide   | 8. Romania            |
| 4. Normal | 9. Yugoslavia         |
| 5. CSSR   |                       |

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DIRECTIVE REGULATING UNIVERSITY STUDIES AT HOME, ABROAD

Sofia DURZHAVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 3 Feb 83 pp 100-127

[Part 1 of the Directive No 9 of the Ministry of Public Education Governing the Admission of Students to Institutions of Higher Learning in Bulgaria and for the Granting of Permission for the Study of Bulgarian Citizens in Institutions of Higher Learning Abroad]

[Text] PART I: GENERAL PROVISIONS

Article 1. The admission of students to institutions of higher learning (VUZ) in the People's Republic of Bulgaria is carried out by competition. The competitive exams are organized and conducted so as to select and admit to the VUZ the best trained and most able young men and women who have evidenced an inclination for the corresponding branch of knowledge and possess the qualities for the creative assimilation and application of this knowledge.

Article 2. The classifying and admission of the candidates are carried out by descending rank in the overall competitive number of points for the approved planned places in the corresponding professional areas and certain individual specialties.

Article 3. The plan for the admission of students is determined depending upon the long-range needs for various specialists with a higher education in the national economy and other spheres of social activity.

Article 4. The admitted students in a certain professional area are distributed by specialty at the end of the first stage of instruction. Upon their enrollment in the VUZ, the newly admitted students sign a statement that after the second stage of instruction they will sign a contract obliging them to work from 5 to 10 years by assignment according to the skill characteristics of the completed specialty. The contracts are concluded with the appropriate socialist organizations or conurbation systems.

PART II: ADMISSION OF STUDENTS TO BULGARIAN INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER LEARNING

Chapter 1: Regular Instruction

Section I: Conditions for Candidacy

Article 5. (1) For regular instruction at the Bulgarian VUZ, persons of both sexes may apply in meeting the following conditions:

1. Have a completed secondary education;
2. They are not older than 35 years of age, with the exception of the following: not older than 27 years of age for the Sofia Georgi Dimitrov Higher Physical Culture Institute (VIF G. Dimitrov); not older than 23 for women and 25 years of age for men for the Sofia Krust'o Sarafov Higher Theatrical Arts Institute (VITIZ Kr. Sarafov); for the specialist of soloist not over the age of 23 for women and 28 for men and for the specialty of light musical art (special subject singing) not over the age of 20 for women and 23 for men for the Sofia Bulgarian State Conservatory (BDK); not over the age of 23 for the specialty of pedagogics for Komsomol and Pioneer activities. Ages are determined as of 15 July in the year of application;
3. They have the necessary labor experience by 15 July in the year of application and are continuing to work at the moment of submitting their student applicant documents, as follows:
  - a) The young persons who have completed their secondary education or have been discharged from the army during the year preceding application have worked 8 months. This is confirmed by a copy of the labor booklet. The time spent in the military after 15 September during the year preceding application up to the date of discharge is counted as length of employment and is verified by the military booklet;
  - b) The young persons who have completed their secondary education or have been discharged from the army during the year preceding application are to work 8 months in the first year after the completion of secondary education or discharge from the military and are to work without interruption until the competitive exams in the following years. This is verified by a copy of the labor booklet;
  - c) With a length of employment of 3 years without interruption, application is permitted regardless of the year of completing secondary education under the condition that the candidate continues to work until the competitive exam;
  - d) The designated requirements of letters "a" and "b" also apply to candidates who have completed their secondary education in previous years but graduated during the year of application, as well as to those who have completed evening school;
  - e) With particularly valid reasons shown by the submission of the corresponding documents, an interruption or shortage of the period of employment is permitted but not more than 2 months in the first 1-year period after the completing of the secondary education and not more than 3 months during all of the following annual periods prior to application. In these instances the candidates are to submit a written request to the chairman of the central commission of the VUZ for the admission of new students, in appending the necessary documents. The decision of the commission chairman is final.

f) The period of employment in the sense of Point 3 is considered to be the following: instruction in vocational training centers, courses and schools for vocational training under the condition that they are recognized as periods of employment; work with a lecturer's remuneration or the payment of an honorarium under the condition of full employment as well as regular specialists; study in higher, semihigher and other institutions of learning above a secondary education, if the academic year has ended (when only the winter semester of the current academic year has ended, 4 months of labor employment are required during the year of application figured up to 15 July as well as an official statement that the candidate is continuing to work);

g) A period of employment is not required for the following: those who have completed daytime secondary schools during the year of application, pregnant women and mothers with children under the age of 3 (verified by a document from the rayon polyclinic or the personal passport of the mother, with the age of the child being determined as of 15 July during the year of application); young persons who by the date of submitting the documents leave for their military service (verified by a document from the military department); young persons who are discharged from regular military service during the year of application; temporarily disabled (verified by a medical consultative commission under the rayon polyclinic with the statement recording the precise time of disability).

(2) Students from the first year of the VUZ (and in applying to the VUZ in art and for the specialty of architecture, from the first and second year) can apply under the procedure of this directive to other or to the same VUZ, without withdrawing from the VUZ in which they are studying, under the condition that they have successfully completed all examinations for the first (or second) year with an average grade for the completed academic years of at least good (4.00). Not able to apply under the procedure of this paragraph are students accepted with priority for satisfying the territorial or departmental requirements for specialists with a higher education.

(3) Students from the first year of the semihigher institutions of learning (PVUZ) can apply to the VUZ under the procedure of this directive without withdrawing from the PVUZ where they are studying, under the condition that they have successfully completed all the exams for the academic year with an average grade of at least good (4.00). Not able to apply under the procedure of this paragraph are students of the PVUZ admitted under Point 11 of the Decree No 22 of the BCP Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of 10 May 1982 for Accelerated Socioeconomic Development of the Conurbation Systems of the Fourth and Fifth Functional Types, from the Border Regions and from the Strandzhan-Sakar Area During the Eighth Five-Year Plan Up to 1990 (DURZHAVEN VESTNIK, No 42, 1982).

(4) Students of the first year of specialized secondary schools above a secondary education can apply to the VUZ under the procedure of this directive without withdrawing from the institution of learning where they are studying, under the condition that they have successfully completed the academic year with an average grade of least good (4.00).

Article 6. (1) The student applicants for all the VUZ (with the exception of those in the arts) must have a minimum number of grade points to be permitted to apply, as follows:

1. For the Sofia Kliment Okhridski University (SU Kl. Okhridskiy), the Plovdiv Paisiy Khilendarskiy University (PU P. Khilendarski), the Veliko Turnovo Kiril i Metodiy University (VTU Kiril i Metodiy), the Higher Pedagogical Institute in Shumen (Shumen VPI), the Higher Pedagogical Institute in Blagoevgrad (Blagoevgrad VPI) and the Medical Academy--13.50 formed from the overall grade on the diploma for a completed secondary education and the grades from the diploma for the subjects employed in forming the competitive number of grade points. For the specialties of journalism and pedagogics of fine arts, the number of points in applying is formed from the diploma for a complete secondary education and the grades in history and in Bulgarian language and literature on the diploma (Appendices No 1, 2 and 3);
2. For the remaining VUZ--9.00 formed from the overall grade on the diploma for a completed secondary education and the grade on the diploma for the first special subject which is employed in forming the competitive number of points (Appendices No 1, 2 and 3).

(2) The requirement of a minimum number of points to be permitted to participate in the competition does not apply to candidates who as of 15 July of the year of application have been employed continuously at least 2 years after completing their secondary education and are continuing to work at the moment of application. This is verified by a copy of the labor booklet. A minimum number of points is not required by young persons who have done their military service or by persons discharged from military service in the year of application.

Article 7. (1) Persons who in their diploma for a completed secondary education in the Bulgarian secondary schools do not have grades in the special academic disciplines employed, according to Appendix No 1, in forming the number of ranking points, cannot apply for the appropriate vocational areas or specialties. Those who have not studied biology and the geography of Bulgaria can report to schools designated by the okrug public education councils and take qualifying exams in biology and the history of Bulgaria as studied in the unified secondary polytechnical school (ESPU). The received grades are verified by the corresponding document and are recognized in applying for a VUZ in the corresponding vocational areas or specialties. Applicants for the specialty of classical philology who on their diploma for a completed secondary education do not have grades for Ancient Greek and Latin, in setting the competitive number of points, can use the grade on the diploma for the studied Western language.

(2) Student applicants who are Bulgarian and foreign citizens who have completed Soviet secondary schools cannot apply in the corresponding vocational areas or specialties if they do not have in their diplomas for a completed secondary education grades for the subjects designated in Appendix No 1 and for certain specialties in Appendix No 2.

(3) The Bulgarian and foreign citizen student applicants who have completed non-Bulgarian and non-Soviet secondary schools cannot apply for the corresponding vocational areas and specialties if their diplomas for a completed secondary education do not have grades for subjects given in Appendix No 1 and for certain specialties, in Appendix No 3.

Article 8. (1) The following are not permitted to apply for regular studies in VUZ:

1. Persons with a completed higher education;
2. Students from the second and higher years of a VUZ (for the VUZ in the arts and for the architecture specialty it is permitted for students to apply from the third and higher years of the VUZ);
3. Students from the second and higher years of the PVUZ and students in the second or higher year of the secondary schools above a secondary education;
4. Young persons on regular service in the Bulgarian People's Army and the Construction Troops if they are not to be discharged during the year of application;
5. Persons with sicknesses which would not permit normal preparation and exercising of a profession in the corresponding specialty (Appendix No 7);
6. Persons with major antisocial tendencies.

(2) At the BDK, the VITIZ Kr. Sarafoc, the Sofia Nikolay Pavlovich Higher Institute for Fine Arts (VIII N. Pavlovich), the Plovdiv Higher Music-Pedagogical Institute (Plovdiv VMPI) for specialties which do not have correspondence instruction, persons with a completed higher education can apply under the condition that they have at least 3 years of labor experience in the specialty after completing their higher education and have not been accepted as students using the benefits outlined in Article 5, Paragraph 2. This permission applies to the architecture specialty at the Sofia Higher Institute for Architecture and Construction (VIAS).

Article 9. Foreign citizens who have permanent residence in Bulgaria can apply to a VUZ under the procedures established in this directive.

Article 10. (1) Application to the VUZ and the admission of students are carried out by vocational areas. Accepted students to a certain vocational area are assigned in their specialty after successfully completing the first stage of instruction. For certain specialties of the same professional area for which there are specific requirements for the applicants and various competitive exams are required while the studies during the first stage require the learning of various academic disciplines, the application and admission of students are carried out by specialty. Application by specialty is carried out at the following institutions:

1. At the SU Kl. Okhridski, the PU P. Khilendarskiy, the VTU Kiril i Metodiy, the Shumen VPI, the Blagoevgrad VPI, the Sofia Karl Marx Higher Economic



Institute (VII Karl Marx), the Varna Dimitur Blagoev Higher Institute for the National Economy (VINS D. Blagoev), the Svishtov D. A. Tsenov Higher Financial and Economic Institute (VFSI D. A. Tsenov), the Plovdiv Vasil Kolarov Higher Agricultural Institute (VSI V. Kolarov), the Stara Zagora Higher Institute for Zootechnics and Veterinary Medicine (VIZVM), the BDK, VITIZ Kr. Sarafov, the VIII N. Pavlovich, the Plovdiv VMPI and the VIF G. Dimitrov.

2. At the Varna Higher Electrical Engineering and Machinery Institute (Varna VMEI) only for the specialty of shipbuilding; at the VIAS on for the specialties of architecture, geodesy, photogrammetry and cartography and land reclamation; at the Sofia Higher Mining and Geological Institute (VMGI) only for the specialty of full mechanization and flow lines for the mining industry, automation of production in the mining industry; at the Sofia Higher Wood Technology Institute (VLTII) only for the specialties of forestry and landscaping; at the Ruse Angel Kunchev Higher Technical School (VTU A. Kunchev) only for the specialty of full mechanization and flow lines in agriculture; at the Sofia Higher Chemical Engineering Institute (the Sofia VKhTI) only for the specialties of the working of metals by plastic deformation, metallurgical equipment, automation of production in the chemical and metallurgical industry; at the Higher Institute for the Food Industry (VIKhVP) only for the specialties of heating and mass exchange equipment for the food industry and the automation of production in the food industry.

(2) For the SU Kl. Okhridskiy, the Blagoevgrad VPI, the Sofia V. I. Lenin Higher Electrical Engineering and Equipment Institute (VMEI V. I. Lenin), the VIAS, VMGI, VLTII, VIKhVP, VII K. Marx, the VSI V. Kolarov, the VIZVM and the VIF G. Dimitrov, it is possible to apply only to one of these institutions of higher learning for each vocational area or specialty in which instruction is provided in the corresponding VUZ in passing the necessary competitive exams.

(3) For the VITIZ Kr. Sarafov and the VIII N. Pavlovich, it is allowed to apply only to one of these VUZ and one of the remaining VUZ (with the exception of the BDK and the Plovdiv VMPI). It is allowed to apply simultaneously to the BDK and the Plovdiv VMPI and to one of the other VUZ (with the exception of the VITIZ Kr. Sarafov and the VIII N. Pavlovich) according to the directive governing the admission of students to the VUZ in the arts. It is possible to apply to the BDK, the VITIZ Kr. Sarafov and the Plovdiv VMPI for two specialties. It is possible to apply only for one specialty at the VIII N. Pavlovich.

(4) For the vocational area of medicine it is possible to apply only to the Higher Medical Institute which is determined by residence, as follows:

1. For the Sofia Higher Medical Institute (Sofia VMI): applicants from the city of Sofia and Sofia, Pernik, Kyustendil and Blagoevgrad okrugs;

2. For the Plovdiv Higher Medical Institute (Plovdiv VMI): applicants from Plovdiv, Pazardzhik and Smolyan okrugs;

3. For the Varna Higher Medical Institute (the Varna VMI): applicants from Varna, Burgas, Turgovishte, Tolbukhin, Silistra, Razgrad, Shumen and Ruse okrugs;

4. For the Pleven Higher Medical Institute (Pleven VMI): applicants from Pleven, Veliko Turnovo, Lovech, Vratsa, Mikhaylovgrad and Vidin okrugs;

5. For the Stara Zagora Higher Medical Institute (Stara Zagora VMI): applicants from Stara Zagora, Yambol, Khaskovo, Kurdzhali, Slivan and Gabrovo okrugs.

(5) For the vocational area of stomatology, it is possible to apply only for the higher medical institute which is determined by residence as follows:

1. For the stomatological faculty at the Plovdiv VMI, applicants from the okrugs: Plovdiv, Pazardzhik, Kurdzhali, Sliven, Burgas, Khaskovo, Smolyan, Yambol, Stara Zagora, Gabrovo and Varna;

2. For the stomatological faculty at the Sofia VMI, applicants from all remaining okrugs not under the Plovdiv stomatological faculty.

(6) For the vocational area of pharmacy, applications are made to the Sofia VMI.

(7) Applicants for the vocational areas of stomatology and pharmacy submit their documents and take competitive exams at the higher medical institutions determined by residence according to Paragraph 4.

(8) It is permitted to apply for the vocational area of chemical technology simultaneously at the Sofia VKhTI and the Burgas Prof. Dr. Asen Zlatarov Higher Chemical Engineering Institute (Burgas VKhTI), regardless of to which of these VUZ the application documents have been submitted and the competitive exams taken. The application is not determined by residence. If, in addition to the vocational area of chemical technology, application is also being made for the specialties of metalworking by plastic deformation, metallurgical equipment and the automation of production in chemical and metallurgical production, requiring the taking of a test in mathematics, the documents without fail must be submitted to the Sofia VKhTI where all the competitive exams are held.

(9) It is permitted to apply for all vocational areas simultaneously at the Varna VMEI, the Gabrovo Higher Electrical Engineering and Machinery Institute (Gabrovo VMEI) and the VTU Angel Kunchev, regardless of to which of these VUZ the applicant has submitted his documents and takes the competitive exams. Application is not determined by residence.

(10) It is permitted to apply for all specialties depending upon the required examinations simultaneously for the PU P. Khilendarski, the VTU Kiril i Metodiy and the Shumen VPI. Applicants are to submit their documents and take the necessary competitive exams at one of these institutions of higher learning for which it is required to hold exams in the subjects required for application in the desired specialties.

(11) It is permitted to apply for all specialties depending upon the required exams simultaneously to the VINS D. Blagoev and the VFSI D. A. Tsenov, regardless of to which of these VUZ the application documents have been submitted and the competitive exams are to be taken. Application is not by residence. Those desiring to apply for the specialty of international tourism should submit their application documents and take the competitive exams at the VINS D. Blagoev.

(12) The applicants under Paragraphs 8-11 are to take competitive exams at the VUZ where their documents have been submitted, regardless of the designated desired ranking for the VUZ of the corresponding group.

## Section II: Documents for Application

Article 11. (1) At the dates stipulated in Article 12, Paragraph 1, the student applicants are to submit in person, by relatives or friends or send by registered mail the following documents of the approved types:

1. A petition to the director;
2. A diploma for the completed secondary education (original). Here:
  - a) Diplomas for a completed semihigher, higher institution of learning or technical schools above a secondary education are not accepted;
  - b) Those who have completed their secondary education in Soviet schools should submit the original diploma which has not been legalized by the Ministry of Public Education (MNP);
  - c) Those who have completed their secondary education in non-Bulgarian and non-Soviet schools abroad a year prior to application submit the original diploma which has been legalized by the MNP, and those completing their education in 1984, the original diploma translated and notarized by the Bulgarian Embassy in the corresponding country. The completed secondary education and the diplomas received must correspond to the educational level designated in Article 48, Paragraph 2;
  - d) Student applicants for the VUZ in the arts, instead of the original diploma, submit a copy of the diploma for the completed secondary education issued by the corresponding secondary school in instances when they are applying also to other VUZ;
3. Competitive exam cards. In filling these out, the following must be observed:
  - a) When application is being made just to one VUZ, the applicants without fail must rank the vocational areas (and when necessary, the specialties) and the forms of instruction (regular, correspondence, evening) in the order which they desire to be classed;
  - b) When they are applying to several VUZ (under Article 10, Paragraphs 3, 8, 9, 10 and 11), the applicants without fail rank the VUZ, the vocational areas (and when necessary, specialties) and the forms of instruction by the order in which they wish to be classed;
  - c) For the VUZ, vocational areas or specialties and forms of instruction which are not designated on the competitive exam forms, the candidates are not ranked;
  - d) After submitting the documents no changes can be made on the competitive exam cards;

4. A card for the file, for the entrance number and for announcement;
5. A copy of the labor booklet notarized by the leader of the enterprise or institution verifying the length of employment;
6. A document showing forthcoming discharge from the army during the year of application and issued by the appropriate unit;
7. The military booklet (for persons discharged from military service in the previous year). With the personal submission of documents to the VUZ, young men are to submit their military booklet for verification. In sending the application documents by mail, to the petition to the director they append the number of the military booklet, the date and year of discharge from military service, without attaching the booklet itself;
8. A declaration from the student applicants who are not to be called up for military service because they are under the age of 18 prior to 31 December during the year of application as well as from student applicants who are foreign citizens;
9. A certificate issued by the corresponding dean's office showing the number of semesters completed and the semester exams completed at the VUZ by candidates who are resuming their student rights;
10. Personal passport for verification of residence (for candidates for the Medical Academy and for persons applying under Article 26, Paragraphs 10 and 11);
11. A recommendation for admission to the VUZ submitted by the principals [directors] of the schools, the leaders of departments, economic organizations and institutions and commanders of military units along with the party and Komsomol leadership. The recommendation is submitted by the student applicant in an envelope sealed and stamped by the department;
12. A contract (standard) for at least 10 years' employment in the specialty after completing the higher education in the appropriate conurbation system (for those applying under Article 26, Paragraph 10) or a declaration (standard) that after admission to the VUZ they will conclude a contract for at least 10 years' work in the specialty after concluding their higher education with the agroindustrial complex which has assigned a specific place for them (for those applying under Article 26, Paragraph 11);
13. A document showing the granting of priority under Article 26, Paragraphs 1, 2, 7, 8 and 9 (if the candidate has the right to a priority);
14. A statement from the VUZ in which the person has completed his first higher education that he was not admitted under the priorities designated in Article 5, Paragraph 2 (such a statement is submitted only by the student applicants under Article 8, Paragraph 2 for regular instruction in the VUZ for the arts and the specialty of architecture);

15. A statement from the following:

a) The VUZ where the applicant during the 1983-1984 academic year was studying the first year (or the first and second year in applying for the VUZ for the arts and the specialty of architecture) for those applying under Article 5, Paragraph 2. The certificate should give the grades for all exams during the completed academic years, the average grade for the period of instruction and a text that the student has completed successfully the first (or second) year;

b) The PVUZ where the student was studying the first year in the 1983-1984 academic year (for persons applying under Article 5, Paragraph 3). The statement should include the grades from all the tests during the academic year, the average grade received and the text that the student successfully completed the first year;

c) A specialized secondary school above a secondary education in which the student studied the first year in the 1983-1984 academic year (for those applying under Article 5, Paragraph 4). The statement should give the grade for all the subjects studied during the academic year, the average grade received and the text that the student successfully completed the first year;

16. Student applicants for the specialty of journalism should submit a recommendation from the appropriate executive committee of the okrug (capital) people's council and the bureau of the okrug (city, for Sofia) Komsomol committee as well as their own materials published in the press or read over television and radio, if they have such, and notarized by the editors-in-chief of the rayon TV studios, radio stations and radio-TV centers in the nation, and for Radio Sofia and Bulgarian Television, by the program directors. Materials published in the press are to be submitted immediately after the taking of the written exam in journalism to the office of the journalism faculties. The materials are to be put in order in a separate titled folder;

17. Student applicants for the VIF G. Dimitrov who have won the title of "Honored Master of Sports," "Master of Sports" and "Candidate Master of Sports" are to submit their cards for these titles. The norms for the title "Candidate Master of Sports" must be approved during a 2-year period prior to 15 July in the year of application, and for servicemen during a period of 2 years prior to going into the army. The candidate master of sports are awarded their title in a sports-category card notarized by the Central Council of the Bulgarian Union for Physical Culture and Sports and a standard declaration of the VIF G. Dimitrov notarized by the appropriate federation;

18. The student applicants for the specialties of international relations, international economic relations, law, philosophy, political economy, sociology and pedagogics of Pioneer and Komsomol activities are to submit a recommendation from the corresponding executive committee of the okrug (capital) people's council and the bureau of the okrug (city, for Sofia) Komsomol committee.

(2) Student applicants under Article 10, Paragraphs 8, 9, 10 and 11, applying for specific planned places (Article 26, Paragraphs 10 and 11) without fail are to submit their documents and take the competitive exams at the VUZ where they have signed a contract or declaration for an assigned place. Otherwise, they lose their right for ranking in the specific assigned places.

(3) The submitted application documents are valid for applying simultaneously for regular, correspondence and evening instruction if they have been filled out in accord with the requirements.

(4) With personal submission of the application petition, an official accepts it after verifying that it has been filled out accurately and contains all the necessary documents. The official gives the same entry number to the petition and to the entry number card which is returned to the applicant signed and sealed.

(5) Application petitions are not accepted if all the necessary documents are not appended and have not been filled out clearly. If such petitions have been sent by mail, they are returned on the same day with the indication as for the reason of return.

Article 12. (1) The following dates have been set for the submission of application documents:

1. From 20 June to 4 July for the BDK, VIII N. Pavlovich, VITIZ Kr. Sarafov and the Plovdiv VMPI. Those who have completed secondary schools during the year of application are to submit in addition their diploma for a completed secondary education (or a copy of it in instances when they are applying also to another VUZ) in a period up to 10 July. Persons applying to the VUZ in the arts under Article 5, Paragraphs 2, 3 and 4 in addition are to submit the statement mentioned in Article 11, Paragraph 1, Point 15, Letters "a," "b" and "c" prior to 10 July;

2. From 20 to 28 June--for student applicants for the Medical Academy who have completed their secondary education prior to the year of application (with the exception of candidates under Points 4, 5 and 6);

3. From 20 to 28 June--for student applicants (with the exception of those under Points 1, 2, 4, 5 and 6) who have completed their secondary education before the year of application and who are residents of the following okrugs: Vidin, Gabrovo, Varna, Kyustendil, Lovech, Mikhaylovgrad, Pazardzhik, Pernik, Pleven, Silistra, Smolyan, Sofia Okrug, Stara Zagora and Turgovishte;

4. From 29 June to 6 July--for student applicants (with the exception of those under Points 1, 2, 3, 5 and 6) who have completed their secondary education the year prior to application and are residents of the following okrugs: Blagoevgrad, Burgas, Veliko Turnovo, Vratsa, Kurdzhali, Plovdiv, Razgrad, Ruse, Silistra, Sofia City, Tolbukhin, Khaskovo, Shumen and Yambol;

5. From 25 to 29 June--for candidates to resume their student rights;

6. From 9 to 14 July--for student applicants who have completed their secondary education in the year prior to application and for student applicants under Article 5, Paragraphs 2, 3 and 4. Applicants for the Medical Academy in this category are to submit their documents to the corresponding institute by residence as pointed out in Article 10, Paragraph 4;

7. The student applicants who are admitted to a VUZ without a competitive exam are to submit the standard documents on the dates designated in this paragraph.

(2) After the stipulated dates, no documents are to be accepted and no changes are to be made in the already submitted ones.

### Section III: Competitive Exams, Organization and Holding

Article 13. (1) Student applicants (with the exception of those under Paragraphs 3-12) are to take two written competitive exams: one in the special subject and the second in social science.

(2) Student applicants for the specialties of mathematics and physics, physics and mathematics, chemistry and physics, biology and chemistry, Bulgarian and Russian, Bulgarian and the selected Western language, Russian and the selected Western language, history and geography are to take two written competitive exams: one in the special subject and the second in social sciences.

(3) The student applicants for the Medical Academy and for the SU Kl. Okhridski (with the exception of student applicants for the specialties designated in Paragraphs 2, 5, 6 and 7) are to take three written competitive exams: two in special subjects and one in social sciences.

(4) Student applicants for the specialties of Bulgarian language and literature, Russian philology, history, biology, engineering physics at the PU P. Khilendarski, the VTU Kiril i Metodiy and the Shumen VPI are to take three written competitive exams: two in special subjects and one in social sciences.

(5) Student applicants for the specialty of chemistry are to take competitive exams in: chemistry (written), chemistry (oral) and social sciences (written).

(6) For the specialty of journalism, the student applicants are to take exams in: Bulgarian language and literature (written), journalism (written), journalism (oral) and social sciences (written).

(7) For the specialties of pre-school pedagogics, primary school pedagogics and remedial instruction the student applicants are to take a written exam in Bulgarian language and literature, an oral exam for testing musical abilities and speech and a written exam for social sciences.

(8) For the specialty of architecture, the student applicants are to take exams in drawing (consisting of three parts), written mathematics and written social sciences. For the specialty of pedagogics of fine arts the student applicants are to take tests in drawing (consisting of two parts), written Bulgarian language and literature and written social sciences. For the specialty of landscaping the student applicants are to take tests in drawing (consisting of two parts), written mathematics and written social sciences.

(9) For the specialty of international tourism, the student applicants are to take written exams in the geography of Bulgaria, a Western language and social sciences.

(10) For the specialty of international economic relations the student applicants are to take written exams in mathematics, Russian, a Western language and natural sciences.

(11) For the specialty of international relations, the student applicants are to take written exams in Russian, a Western language and social sciences.

(12) The student applicants for the VIF G. Dimitrov are to take tests in special subjects according to the program of the institute for holding the competitive exams and a written test in social science.

(13) The student applicants for the VUZ in the arts are to take competitive exams in the special subjects according to the Directive Governing the Admission of Students to Institutions of Higher Learning in the Arts and a written exam in social sciences.

(14) The special academic disciplines for which competitive exams are to be taken are set depending upon the nature and vocational area or specialty and are designated in Appendices No 1, 4 and 5.

(15) The competitive exams are held according to the programs approved by the MNP and are drawn up in accord with the programs for studied subjects in the unified secondary polytechnical school (ESPU).

(16) The subjects of the written competitive exams are made up on the basis of the program material for each competitive subject. These are drawn by lot and announced at the times designated in Appendix No 6. The duration of the written exams (with the exception of the drawing exams) is 4 hours.

Article 14. (1) The organization and holding of the competitive exams are carried out by the VUZ with the aid of a commission appointed by the rector's order.

(2) The competitive exams are held by schedule according to Appendix No 6.

Article 15. (1) The written competitive exams are anonymous.

(2) Student applicants take the exams at the VUZ where they have submitted their documents.

(3) Student applicants who have reported for the exam after the announcing of the subject are not permitted to take the exam.

(4) With proven copying or an attempt at copying as well as an attempt to violate the anonymity of the competition by marking with a sign, a special color, motto and so forth, the written work of the student applicant is canceled by the chairman of the test commission and the applicant is deprived of the right to participate further in the competition.

(5) Student applicants for the specialty of pedagogics of fine arts who have received a grade below good (4.00) in the first part of the drawing exam are not permitted to take the following, second part of the drawing exam. Student



applicants for the specialty of journalism who have received a grade below good (4.00) in the written competitive exam for Bulgarian language and literature are not allowed to participate in the written journalism exam.

(6) The written competitive test for Bulgarian language and literature for the journalism specialty is considered passed with a grade of at least good (4.00).

(7) The drawing exam for the specialty of pedagogics of fine arts is considered passed if for both its two parts a grade has been received of at least good (4.00).

(8) The drawing exam for the specialties of architecture and landscaping are considered passed if the average arithmetic grade for the individual parts of the test is at least good (4.00) and if a grade of poor (2.00) was not received for any part of the individual parts of the test.

(9) The results of the competitive tests are valid for participation in the competition only during the year which they are taken.

#### Section IV: Checking and Grading the Written Works. The Forming of the Number of Ranking Points for the Student Applicants

Article 16. (1) The written works for all academic disciplines are read and graded by two instructors independently of one another with an accuracy of 0.25.

(2) In the event that the difference in the grades of the two instructors is 0.25, the final grade is rounded off in the favor of the student applicant. If the difference is 0.50, the final grade is the average arithmetic amount between the two grades.

(3) When the difference in the grade between the two instructors is more than 0.50, the work is submitted for arbitration.

(4) For the specialties of pre-school pedagogics, primary school pedagogics and remedial instruction, the oral interdisciplinary exam for testing musical abilities and speech is assessed by a three-member commission with grades of "pass" or "fail."

(5) Oral exams announced in the Appendices No 1, 4 and 5 are conducted by a three-member commission and are graded with an accuracy to 0.25. The grade of the commission is final.

(6) The written works from the test in social sciences are graded by one instructor with a grade of "pass" or "fail." Works with the grade "fail" are submitted to an arbitrator whose grade is final.

Article 17. After the grading of each written work by all the grading instructors, they put the final grade on it with brief comments and sign it.

Article 18. The results of the written competitive exams are announced no later than 10 days after they have been held.

Article 19. The announced grades of the written works are final and may not be regraded.

Article 20. (1) The number of ranking points for the following specialties is formed as follows:

1. Journalism--from the doubled grade from the written competitive exam in journalism, the grade of the oral exam in journalism, the grade from the competitive exam in Bulgarian language and literature, the overall grade from the diploma for a completed secondary education and the history grade on the diploma;
  2. Pedagogics of fine arts--from the doubled grade from the first part of the competitive drawing exam, the grade from the second part of the drawing exam, the grade from the exam in Bulgarian language and literature, the overall grade on the diploma for a completed secondary education;
  3. Architecture--from the doubled average arithmetic grade from the three parts of the drawing exam, the grade from the test in mathematics, the overall grade from the diploma for a completed secondary education and the mathematics grade from the diploma for a completed secondary education;
  4. Landscaping--from the doubled average arithmetic grade from the two parts of the competitive drawing exam, the grade from the competitive mathematics exam, the overall grade from the diploma for a completed secondary education and the mathematics grade from the diploma;
  5. Classical philologies--from the doubled grade from the competitive exam in Ancient Greek and Latin, the grade from the exam in Bulgarian language and literature, the overall grade from the diploma for a completed secondary education, the average arithmetic grade from Ancient Greek and Latin (Western language) and the grade in Bulgarian language and literature on the diploma;
  6. International tourism--from the grades from the competitive exams on the geography of Bulgaria and the corresponding Western language, the overall grade from the diploma for a completed secondary education, the grades in Bulgarian language and literature and mathematics on the diploma;
  7. Pre-school pedagogics, primary school pedagogics and remedial instruction--from the doubled grade from the written exam on Bulgarian language and literature, the overall grade from the diploma for a completed secondary education and the grades for Bulgarian language and literature and history from the diploma.
- (2) The acceptance of students for the specialties of international relations and international economic relations is carried out under a separate procedure determined by the ministers of public education, foreign trade and foreign affairs.
- (3) For the VITIZ Kr. Sarafov, the BDK, the VIII N. Pavlovich and the Plovdiv VMPI, the holding of the competitive exams, the calculating of the number of points and the ranking are carried out according to a procedure established by

the directive governing the admission of students to institutions of higher learning in the arts.

(4) For the VIF G. Dimitrov, the holding of the competitive exams, the calculating of the number of points and the ranking are carried out under a procedure established by the VIF G. Dimitrov.

Article 22. Not participating in the ranking are the student applicants who:

1. Received a grade of poor (2.00) which was given on the competitive exams in the special subjects for the specific vocational area or specialty;
2. Did not report to the exam in the special subject or the exam for social sciences;
3. Received a grade of "fail" or did not report for the oral interdisciplinary exam for testing musical abilities and speech.

#### Section V: Ranking of Student Applicants

Article 23. (1) Depending upon the exams taken, the ranking is carried out in descending order of the number of points in the following sequence:

1. With application to just one VUZ, the determinant in the ranking is the designated order of the desired forms of instruction followed by the order of the chosen professional areas or specialties;
2. In applying simultaneously to several VUZ, the determinant in classifying is the designated rank of the desired VUZ, followed by the order of the forms of instruction and finally the desired vocational areas or specialty;
3. The student applicants who receive preference under Article 26, Paragraphs 7, 8 and 9 participate initially in the ranking for places determined as a percentage of the total number of planned places for the corresponding vocational area or specialty and the category (women or men who have served in the military and male recruits). With the filling of the assigned places for the corresponding priority, the non-ranked applicants then participate in the ranking on the general grounds;
4. Those applying under Article 26, Paragraph 10, are ranked initially in the VUZ by specialty and the form of instruction for specific assigned places for which a contract has been concluded for 10 years' employment in the corresponding conurbation system. Initially participating in the ranking are only the candidates who are residents of the corresponding conurbation system. In the absence of such candidates or with their unsuccessful performance in the competition, the remaining inhabitants of the corresponding okrug who have concluded a contract with the conurbation system can then participate in the ranking for taking the unassigned specific place. In the ranking priorities are not granted under Article 26, Paragraph 7, 8 and 9. Candidates for the corresponding specific assigned place but who received a number of competitive points not lower than that designated in Paragraph 2 and Article 37, Paragraph 1, participate then in the ranking following the procedure outlined in Points 1, 2 and 3.

5. Applicants under Article 26, Paragraph 11, are initially ranked in the VUZ by specialty and by form of instruction for the specific assigned place for which they have signed a declaration that after admission of them to the VUZ they will conclude a contract for 10 years' employment in the corresponding agroindustrial complex. In the ranking, priorities are not to be used under Article 26, Paragraphs 7, 8 and 9. Unranked applicants for the corresponding specific assigned place but who received a number of competitive points not lower than that designed in Paragraph 2 and in Article 3, Paragraph 1, may then participate in the ranking according to the procedure outlined in Points 1, 2 and 3.

(2) Participating in the ranking are all applicants who have successfully passed the competitive exams in the special subjects and who have received a number of points not lower than the following:

1. 27.00 for the Medical Academy, the VIF G. Dimitrov, the SU Kl. Okhridski (with the exception of the specialties designated in Article 13, Paragraphs 2 and 7) and for the specialties of Bulgarian language and literature, Russian philology, history, biology, chemistry, engineering physics at the PU P. Khilendarski, the VTU Kiril i Metodiy and the Shumen VPI;

2. 22.00 for the remaining VUZ and for the remaining specialties in the PU P. Khilendarski, the VTU Kiril i Metodiy, the Shumen VPI and the SU Kl. Okhridski.

Article 24. (1) Ranking is carried out in accord with the approved assigned places in three categories, for women, for men who have done their military service and for male recruits. For the VUZ in the arts and the VIF G. Dimitrov, the assigned places are allocated between two categories: generally for men and for women who have done their military service and separately for male recruits.

(2) Young men who prior to 31 December during the year of application are not over the age of 18 are ranked as having served [in the armed forces].

(3) Young men released from military service or deferred because of health causes by the draft boards during the year of application but not later than the date of submitting the application documents are ranked in the category of males who have served their military service.

(4) The ratio between "women" and "men" is 1:1. For certain individual vocational areas and specialties requiring the greater admitting of men or women, the MNP may establish a different ratio. This is reflected in the plan for admitting new students.

(5) The student applicants participating in the competitive exams for restoring their student rights for the second and higher years in the specialty which they have been studying are ranked in a separate category, without occupying assigned places. Admitted as students are only those whose competitive number of points was not lower than that designated in Article 23, Paragraph 2 (for regular instruction) and in Article 37, Paragraph 1 (for correspondence instruction).

Article 25. (1) The results of the ranking are announced in all the VUZ (with the exception of those in the arts) not later than 20 August.

(2) The VUZ inform all admitted students in writing as of the date and conditions for enrollment.

(3) In the event that after the ranking unfilled places remain, they may be filled from unadmitted applicants from similar VUZ who have taken the same competitive exams and have the right to participate in the ranking.

(4) Vacant places are announced prior to 22 August.

(5) The student applicants who desire to participate in the filling of vacant places submit a petition (standard) to the rector of the VUZ to which they have applied during the period from 22 to 24 August.

(6) The filling of vacant places is carried out by the number of points. Priorities may not be used for them.

(7) Male recruits who have been deferred from military service after the submitting of their application documents can participate in the filling of vacant places announced for males who have served their military service, if they submit their deferment document prior to 24 August.

Article 26. (1) Without a competitive exam and outside the plan for all vocational areas or specialties (not those in the arts and architecture), admission is granted to heroes of Bulgaria and to heroes of socialist labor. This right can be used only once.

(2) Without a competitive exam (within the plan) for the corresponding vocational areas or specialties it is possible to admit student applicants who as students in their last grade (year) were ranked for participation during the year of application in the international secondary school Olympics under the condition that they had an overall grade on the diploma for a completed secondary education of at least very good (5.00) and a grade in the subjects on the diploma used in forming the number of points of not less than very good (5.00). The candidates in this paragraph are admitted as students in the vocational areas and specialties approved by the MNP and for which the taking of a competitive exam is required in the special academic subject which is the subject of the corresponding international Olympics.

(3) For candidate students who as students in the last grade (year) participated during the year of application in the select republic round of Olympics in mathematics, physics and chemistry or in the republic round for the Olympics in biology, Bulgarian language and literature and Russian and who received a grade not lower than excellent (5.50) or a total number of points equivalent to a grade of not lower than excellent (5.50) are considered to have passed the competitive exam in the corresponding special subject with a grade equal to the grade of the Olympics in applying for the corresponding vocational areas or specialties under the condition that they have an overall grade on the diploma for a completed secondary education of at least excellent (5.50). Student applicants who as students in the last grade (year) have participated during the

year of application in the final stage of the National Political Competition (NPK) for the student youth, as well as student applicants who participated during the year of application in the competition for labor youth and received a total number of points equivalent to a grade of at least good (4.00) are considered as having taken the test in social science with a grade of "pass" regardless of the overall grade on the diploma for a completed secondary education. The remaining competitive exams for the corresponding vocational areas or specialties are to be taken on the general grounds. Ranking is carried out according to the general procedure with the remaining applicants from the corresponding categories according to the plan for the admission of students. The equating to the 6-point system of grades in the select round of Olympics in mathematics, chemistry and physics or the republic round of Olympics for biology, Bulgarian language and literature and Russian and from the concluding stage of the NPK is carried out by the central juries upon instructions of the MNP and the Komsomol Central Committee.

(4) The winners of the gold insignia "For Youth Scientific and Technical Creativity" in the national youth scientific-technical contests within the 12th Republic Review of Technical and Scientific Creativity of Youth and the students in the last grade (year) and the winners of the gold insignia "For Youth Scientific and Technical Creativity" from the republic secondary school scientific-technical conferences held during the year of application are considered to have taken the competitive exam with a grade of excellent (6.00) in one of the special disciplines for the corresponding vocational area or specialty (not including the specialties for the VUZ in the arts, architecture, landscaping, and pedagogics of fine arts), if the area of the discipline coincides with the area of the manifested creativity of the candidate, under the condition that the candidates have an overall grade on the diploma for a completed secondary education of at least excellent (5.50) and diploma grades for the point-forming disciplines of at least excellent (5.50). The remaining exams are to be taken on the general grounds. The ranking is made under the general procedure with the remaining candidates of the appropriate category according to the plan for the admission of students. Those who wish to use their priority under this paragraph should submit a petition to the Republic Center for the Technical and Scientific Creativity of Youth (51a Blvd. Tolbukhin, Sofia) during the time from 30 May to 20 June (for those who completed their secondary education before the year of application) and from 5 to 10 July (for those who completed their secondary education during the year of application).

(5) The winners of gold, silver and bronze medals in the Olympic Games, the World and European Men's and Women's Championships and gold medals in the World and European Youth Championships are considered to have taken all the practical competitive exams for the VIF G. Dimitrov with a grade of excellent (6.00). They are obliged to take the competitive exam only for social science and participate in the ranking with the remaining candidates of the corresponding category according to the plan for the admission of students. For the coach faculty they can be ranked only in the discipline for which they have won the medal and for the remaining faculties and for correspondence instruction they are ranked on the general grounds. The youth medals must have been won in the last competition prior to application to the VUZ.

(6) Up to 20 percent of the places within the plan are set aside for those who have completed the 8-month preparatory courses for the VUZ according to the Directive No 4 of the MNP governing conditions and the procedure for organizing preparatory courses for the VUZ for student applicants among the workers and rural youth (DURZHAVEN VESTNIK, No 24 of 1979).

(7) Competing for up to 15 percent of the places within the plan, respectively, for the categories of men who have served their military service and women in any vocational area or specialty (not including the specialties in the arts, architecture and those designated in Paragraph 8) are the student applicants with at least 2 years of continuous labor employment (as of 15 July) as workers in material production in industrial enterprises (plants, factories, mines and industrial combines), construction projects, municipal economies, transport, industrial-agrarian complexes (PAK) and agroindustrial complexes (APK) and continuing to work as workers at the moment of application.

(8) Completing among themselves for up to 15 percent of the places within the plan, respectively, for the categories of men who have done their military service and women for agricultural institutes and the specialties of the economics and management of agriculture at the VII Karl Marx and VFSI D. A. Tsenov and full mechanization and flow lines in agriculture at the VTU A. Kunchev, are candidates with at least 2 years continuous employment as of 15 July as workers in agriculture and continuing to hold the same job at the time of application.

(9) Competing among themselves for 10 percent of the student applicants who are the children of the following groups: active fighters against fascism and capitalism; persons who have perished in carrying out their official duty as servicemen; pensioners under the designated Articles 28 and 30, Point "a" of the Law Governing Pensions. Candidates may use these priorities only with an equal number of points for the BDK, the VIII N. Pavolovich, the VITIZ Kr. Sarafov, the Plovdiv VMPI and for the specialties of architecture, landscape and the pedagogics of fine arts. The places are assigned for each vocational area or specialty according to the categories of males who have done their military service, male recruits and women.

(10) Competing among themselves for up to 10 percent of the total plan for admitting students for specific assigned places under Article 11 of the Decree No 22 of the BCP Central Committee and the Council of Ministers for the Accelerated Socioeconomic Development of the Conurbation Systems of the Fourth and Fifth Functional Type, from the Border Areas and from the Strandzhan-Sakar Area During the Eighth Five-Year Plan and Up to 1990, are the student applicants who by the date of submitting their documents for the VUZ are residents of the okrugs according to Appendix No 3 of the Decree (verified by the personal passport) and have concluded a contract for working at least 10 years in the specialty in the corresponding conurbation system after completing their higher education. The MNP allocates the specific assigned places within the plan for the VUZ, the specialty, the form of instruction and the conurbation systems. For the specialties in the VUZ for the arts, the VSI V. Kolarov and the VIZVM, as well as for the specialties of architecture in the VIAS, the economics and management of agriculture in the VII Karl Marx and the VFSI D. A. Tsenov and full mechanization and flow lines in agriculture at the VTU A. Kunchev, assigned places are not planned according to this paragraph. The student applicants can

submit to the appropriate VUZ a concluded contract only with one conurbation system and for an approved specific assigned place for one specialty.

(11) Competing among themselves for up to 50 percent of the specific assigned places in the plan for all the specialties at the VSI V. Kolarov and the VIZVM, as well as for the specialties of economics and management of agriculture at the VII Karl Marx and the VFSI D. A. Tsenov and full mechanization and flow lines in agriculture at the VTU A. Kunchev are the student applicants who have signed a declaration that after their admission to the VUZ under the procedures of this paragraph they will sign a contract for at least 10 years' employment in the specialty after the completion of their higher education with the agro-industrial complexes established by the National Agroindustrial Union (NAPS) in competing for the specific assigned places of the APK. The NAPS and the MNP assign the specific assigned places within the plan according to the VUZ, the specialties, the forms of instruction, the categories of candidates (males who have done their military service, women, male recruits) and the APK. The student applicants under this paragraph can submit one declaration which is signed only for a specific assigned place in the corresponding VUZ, specialty, form of instruction and APK. The declaration for a specific assigned place can be signed under the condition that by the date of submitting his documents to the VUZ the candidate is a resident of the okrug where the corresponding APK is located (verified by the personal passport). The declarations (standard) are signed when the student applicants submit their documents to the VUZ the plan of which for the admission of students includes the specific assigned places for the appropriate APK. The newly admitted students under this paragraph, in registering at the VUZ, submit the concluded contract (standard) with the corresponding APK whose assigned place they have taken. Those who have not submitted such a contract to the VUZ on the dates stipulated in Article 30, Paragraph 1 and Article 38, Paragraph 1, are not registered as students and lose their student rights.

(12) With an equal number of competitive points and with other conditions being equal, in competing for the specific assigned places under Paragraphs 10 and 11, priority ranking is given to student applicants who in the ESPU, the secondary vocational-technical schools (SPTU) and technical schools (with the exception of those above a secondary education) have mastered a broad vocation and specialty corresponding to the specialty of the VUZ for which they are applying under the designated paragraphs.

Article 27. Applicants under Article 26 participate in the ranking for assuming the corresponding assigned places if their total number of competitive points is not lower than that designated in Article 23, Paragraph 2 (for regular instruction) and in Article 37, Paragraph 1 (for correspondence and evening instruction). This requirement does not apply to the applicants under Article 26, Paragraph 9.

Article 28. The places set aside under Article 26, Paragraphs 6-11 and unoccupied due to an insufficient number of applicants or due to an insufficient minimum overall number of competitive points, in the course of the ranking are filled by applicants on the general grounds according to the number of points.

Article 29. In accord with the exams taken, the VUZ (but not those in the arts) make one ranking in descending order of the number of points and by the order



of the VUZ indicated by the student applicants, for the forms of instruction, vocational areas or specialties.

#### Section VI: Registration of Newly Admitted Students

Article 30. (1) Newly admitted students register from 20 to 30 August.

(2) Admitted students from the preparatory 8-month courses register up to 10 July.

(3) Males who 2 years previously were admitted as students and are to be discharged from the military during the year of application are to register up to 30 August.

(4) The students who have not registered on the designated dates according to Paragraphs 1, 2 and 3 lose their acquired student rights.

(5) The registration of newly admitted students is carried out by the deans of the faculties (or by the deputy rectors of the VUZ which do not have faculties) on the basis of the rector's order.

Article 31. In registering the new students submit, in addition to the documents under Article 11, Paragraph 1, the additional following documents:

1. An autobiography;
2. A medical certificate issued by the medical institution serving the corresponding VUZ after submission of a statement from the rayon psychiatric out-patient institution at the student's permanent residence. Young persons who have been discharged from the military in the same year do not submit a medical statement;
3. Six photographs with a 4 x 6 format;
4. A declaration that at the end of the second stage of instruction they will conclude a contract with a socialist organization or conurbation system for working from 5 to 10 years according to the job profile of the specialty which they will complete. Such a declaration is not submitted by the applicants under Article 26, Paragraphs 10 and 11;
5. A contract (standard) concluded with the corresponding APK for whose specific assigned place they have been ranked that they will work at least 10 years in the specialty after completing their higher education at the same APK (this applies only to student applicants under Article 26, Paragraph 11);
6. Documents for the registration of new students (the established forms);
7. Young men who have done their military service submit their military booklet which is returned to them after verification of the data. Those deferred from military service submit their deferment document;

8. Students admitted under the conditions of Article 26, Paragraphs 10 and 11 submit their personal passport for verification of residence;

9. The young men and women admitted as students who have completed the 8-month preparatory courses for the VUZ register according to the procedure established in the Directive No 4 of the MNP for Organizing the Preparatory Courses for the VUZ for Student Applicants from Among the Worker and Rural Youth. In registering the same also submit a contract from the enterprise which has sent them that they will work for at least 10 years wherever they are assigned;

10. Students admitted for the medical specialty at the Plovdiv VMI and who are residents of Pazardzhik and Smolyan Okrug from the sixth semester continue their studies at the affiliate of the Plovdiv VMI in the town of Pazardzhik. Students admitted for the specialty of medicine at the Varna VMI and who are residents of Tolbukhin, Razgrad, Turgovishte, Shumen and Silistra okrugs, from the sixth semester continue their studies at the affiliate of the Varna VMI in the town of Tolbukhin;

11. Students admitted for all specialties at the VSI V. Kolarov and the VIZVM and who have concluded a contract to work in Northern Bulgaria continue their studies during the third stage on the basis of advanced training and specialized training in the town of Vratsa.

Article 32. (1) Young men who have reached the age of 18 and are subject to military service and who have been admitted as students as recruits are registered but enter the VUZ after completing their military service.

(2) Young men ranked and admitted as students as recruits but deferred from military service after the submitting of their applicant documents are registered in the VUZ and continue their education, if the deferment and registration in the VUZ has been completed not later than 15 September during the year of application.

(3) The recruits who have been released or deferred for one year of military service and who have also been admitted as students complete their military duty after concluding their higher education. The same applies to young men who have not reached the age of 18 during the year of admission to the VUZ (Articles 46 and 47 of the Law Governing Universal Military Service in the People's Republic of Bulgaria).

## Chapter 2: Correspondence and Evening Instruction

### Section I: Conditions for Applying

Article 33. (1) Persons of both sexes can apply for correspondence and evening instruction in the Bulgarian VUZ, in meeting the following conditions:

1. Have a completed secondary education;

2. They are not over the age of 40, and are not older than 35 for the VIF G. Dimitrov. Age is determined as of 15 July during the year of application;

3. Males have served or are released from military service;
  4. They have at least a year of uninterrupted work experience by 1 October during the year of application in the area of the specialty applied for and continue to perform the same job in meeting the requirements for labor employment according to Article 5, Paragraph 1, Point 3. A person appointed under Article 64 of the Labor Code (KT) can apply for correspondence or evening instruction if the job which he performs corresponds to the requirements for the specialties applied for or if the person has the necessary length of employment;
  5. The person has been submitted by the leadership of the institution, enterprise or organization in which he is employed. Officials employed on a voluntary basis or a job paid by royalty with a full workload or a half workday do not have the right to correspondence or evening instruction.
- (2) The time spent in regular military service, regardless of the position held, is not recognized as a period of employment for correspondence or evening instruction. An exception is made for the time spent in service after 15 September up to the date of discharge and this is considered as the period of employment in the specialty.
  - (3) A year's period of employment in agriculture after the completing of a secondary education is considered to be the following: at least 200 days worked in crop raising or 250 days in other agricultural activities.
  - (4) Non-working mothers with children under the age of 3 can apply for correspondence and evening instruction without having the necessary length of employment and without being submitted by institutions, enterprises and organizations. When the applicant is employed, she must be submitted under the general procedure, although not having the required length of employment. The age of the child is determined as of 1 October during the year of application.
  - (5) For the specialties of Bulgarian language and literature, law, philosophy, psychology and history candidates may apply who are not working in the specialty but meet the other requirements for correspondence instruction.
  - (6) Admitted to evening instruction are applicants who have permanent residence and are employed in the corresponding university town.
  - (7) Applicants for correspondence and evening instruction who do not have grades on their diploma for a completed secondary education in the special subjects involved, according to Appendices No 1, 2 and 3 in forming the number of competitive points, cannot apply for the corresponding specialties.
  - (8) For the specialty of journalism, only staff journalists from the mass information media can apply when they are submitted by the Union of Bulgarian Journalists upon the proposal of the editorial leadership.
  - (9) Officers from the Ministry of National Defense and from the Main Directorate of the Construction Troops can apply only with the permission of the appropriate minister. He determines the specialties for which permission to apply

is granted. Re-enlisted sergeants and petty officers can apply with the permission of the commanders of the formations, the Armed Services and the Border Troops as well as with the permission of the chiefs of the directorates and independent sections in the MNO [Ministry of National Defense]. The permission explicitly states the specialties for which permission is given to apply.

(10) The employees of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (officers, sergeants and irregulars) can apply for correspondence instruction in a VUZ only with the permission of the chief of the corresponding unit. The chief of the unit determines the specialties for application and issues a standard identification for the student applicant. The identification replaces the identification model No 1, the recommendation and the medical certificate which are required for the student applicants.

(11) Organizational workers in regular work in the party, Komsomol and trade union organizations can apply for all specialties (with the exception of journalism) for which correspondence students are admitted, in submitting a copy of the official decision for their appointment.

(12) Young men who have commenced their employment on the basis of Article 17 of the Directive Governing the Establishing of Regular Military Service for young men hired at the Kremikovtzi Metallurgical Combine (MOK L. I. Brezhnev), the Metalurgremont [Metallurgical Repair] Enterprise and the Peshtoremont [Furnace Repair] Enterprise under the Ferrous Metallurgy Economic Association (DURZHAVEN VESTNIK, No 9 of 1977) have the right to apply and continue their education at VUZ by correspondence education after 1 July of the second year of commencing their job, if they meet the remaining requirements for correspondence and evening education.

Article 34. (1) Persons with a completed higher education can also apply by competition for correspondence or evening instruction under the condition that they have at least 3 years of employment by the final date of submitting the documents for the specialty to be completed by them and meet the requirements of Article 33.

(2) The acquiring of a second higher education by correspondence instruction in the specialties of radio and television equipment, electronics equipment and microelectronics as well as computers, can be applied for also by persons who meet the requirements for correspondence education under Article 33, are working in their first completed specialty, have at least 1 year of experience in it and have been proposed by the leadership of the institutions, enterprises or organizations.

(3) The acquiring of a second higher education by correspondence instruction in the specialties of the economics and management of industry, the economics and management of construction, the economics and management of agriculture, the economics and management of transportation and the economics and management of trade can be applied for by persons who meet the requirements for correspondence instruction, are employed in the first completed specialty, have at least 1 year of experience in it and have been proposed by the leadership of the institutions, enterprises or organizations. In this instance, it is not necessary for the applicants to be employed in the national economic sector corresponding to the specifically enumerated specialties.

## Section II: Documents for Applying

Article 35. (1) Application for correspondence and evening instruction is carried out for a VUZ or group of VUZes and for specialties in accord with Article 10, Paragraphs 2, 3, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12 in meeting the requirements of Article 33.

(2) The student applicants for correspondence and evening instruction submit a petition to the rector which gives the form of instruction and the VUZ and specialties ranked by desire. Appended to the petition are the documents listed in Article 11 as well as the following:

1. Identification No 1 (standard) from the place of employment signed by the administrative leader of the institution, enterprise or organization, by the chief bookkeeper and the chairman of the trade union committee. The identification without fail gives the specialty for which application is permitted;
2. A copy of the last order for hiring;
3. Applicants for the specialty of journalism also submit a detailed personnel and creative recommendation from the leadership of the publication where they are employed as well as from the local journalist society notorized by the Union of Bulgarian Journalists as well as a set of the journalist's works (publications).

Article 36. The submitting of the documents, the reporting to the competitive exams, the grading of the written works and the calculating of the number of points for correspondence and evening instruction are carried out according to the procedures established for regular instruction.

## Section III: Ranking and Registering of Newly Admitted Students for Correspondence and Evening Instruction

Article 37. (1) Only one ranking is carried out for correspondence and evening instruction. This is done by the number of points and by the order of the VUZ indicated by the student applicant and the specialty approved by the VUZ for which the applicant documents have been submitted. In the ranking they observe the established plan for the admission of students to the male and female categories for the appropriate VUZ and specialties. Participating in the ranking are all the applicants who have at least the following number of points:

1. 22.00 for the VIF G. Dimitrov, the SU Kl. Okhridski (with the exception of the specialties designated in Article 13, Paragraph 7) and for the specialties of Bulgarian language and literature, Russian philology, history, biology and chemistry at the PU P. Khilendarski, the VTU Kiril i Metodiy and the Shumen VPI;
2. 19.00 for the remaining VUZ and for the remaining specialties at the PU P. Khilendarski, the VTU Kiril i Metodiy and the Shumen VPI.

(2) The student applicants for correspondence and evening instruction may receive the priorities under Article 26, Paragraphs 1, 4, 5, 9, 10 and 11.

Article 38. (1) The registering of the newly admitted students for correspondence and evening instruction is carried out from 20 to 30 August.

(2) In registering the ranked student applicants should submit their documents under Articles 11 and 35 and a new certificate that they are continuing to work in the area of the same specialty and at the same institution, enterprise or organization.

### PART III: SELECTION OF STUDENTS FOR STUDY AT FOREIGN INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER LEARNING

#### Chapter 3: Regular Instruction

##### Section I: Conditions for Applying

Article 39. (1) For continuing their education in foreign VUZ, the following are permitted to apply:

1. Students from our VUZ who during the current academic year have been studying in the first year and have taken the exams of the January examination session with an average grade of at least very good (4.50);
2. Servicemen about to be discharged who have been admitted as students to VUZ with a number of points of at least 22.50 (with five point-forming grades) or with a number of points not lower than 27.00 (with six point-forming grades);
3. Newly admitted students to Bulgarian VUZ under the provisions of this directive and students from the first and second years who have successfully completed the corresponding academic year with an average grade of at least very good (4.50) whose parents are employed abroad or have married a citizen of another state and reside there.

(2) Candidates under Paragraph 1, Points 1 and 2 for continuing their education in the VUZ of the GDR must have very good written and spoken German.

Article 40. (1) Not permitted to apply for instruction in foreign VUZ are students who have not done their military service or have not been released from it (with the exception of young men who gained their student rights at the age of 17).

(2) It is not permitted to Bulgarian students to study in the VUZ in the capitalist and developing countries in the following specialties: philosophy, history, sociology, pedagogics, journalism, international relations and international economic relations (foreign trade), political economy, socioeconomic planning and specialties in the arts. Countries where instruction in the specialty of architecture is permitted are determined by the MNP.

(3) It is not permitted for Bulgarian citizens to study the specialty of law in foreign VUZ.

Article 41. Bulgarian citizens not living permanently abroad who have registered in foreign VUZ in violation of the requirements of the directive do not receive student rights and the diplomas for a completed higher education are not legalized.

## Section II: Documents for Applying

Article 42. (1) The VUZ announce prior to 25 February the list of specialties and the states in which applicants can continue their education under Article 39, Paragraph 1, Points 1 and 2.

(2) Students who desire to continue their education abroad in the announced specialties submit the following documents at the date stipulated by the VUZ:

1. A petition to the rector (standard);
  2. Personal card;
  3. Certificate of grades;
  4. Autobiography;
  5. Medical certificate from the student polyclinic with a statement that the person can study in the corresponding nation and in the corresponding specialty;
  6. Two photographs 4 x 6 in size signed on the reverse with the three names of the candidate according to the personal passport and his address;
  7. A declaration of family status and material position accompanied by a certificate of gross income of the family over the previous 12 months;
  8. A declaration that after completing their higher education they will work from 5 to 10 years in accord with the job profile of the specialty in the sector to which they will be assigned.
- (3) Candidates under Article 39, Paragraph 1, Point 2 prior to 10 May are to submit to the appropriate VUZ the documents indicated in the previous paragraph, and instead of the certificate of grades they may submit a certificate of the total number of points by which they were admitted as students and a recommendation from the unit in which they serve.
- (4) Candidates under Article 39, Paragraph 1, Point 3 submit through the VUZ to the MNP prior to 30 July (for students of the first and second year) and prior to 25 August (for newly admitted students) the documents indicated in Paragraph 2 as well as a document that as of now one of their parents is employed abroad or a marriage license with a citizen of the corresponding state.

## Section III: Selection of Applicants Accepted for Students in the Bulgarian VUZ for Study in Foreign Institutions of Higher Learning

Article 43. (1) The documents for applying for instruction in foreign VUZ are examined by a commission appointed by the rector of the VUZ in which the applicants are studying or have been admitted.

(2) The initial ranking of the students is carried out on the basis of their grade from the January examination session and their sociopolitical activities

and for students in the military on the basis of the number of points with which they were admitted as students and their sociopolitical activities.

(3) Up to 50 percent of the places in the higher specialties are set aside for students who have worked at least 2 years in material production.

Article 44. (1) After the end of the regular exam session for the summer semester, upon the proposal of the commission under Article 43, Paragraph 1, the rectors of the VUZ issue an order for the specialties and the states approving the students who will continue their education in the foreign VUZ.

(2) The final selection of students from the VUZ in the arts is done with an additional test conducted by a special commission appointed by the rector of the appropriate VUZ.

(3) The orders of the rectors under the previous paragraph are announced prior to 20 July and the approved students are notified in writing by the VUZ.

Article 45. The VUZ provide the chosen students with all documents necessary for obtaining external passports, for reduced-cost travel and so forth and they organize their sending to the corresponding countries for the appropriate dates.

Article 46. (1) The first-year students (under Article 39, Paragraph 1, Point 1) proposed by the commissions for continuing their education in the GDR, Czechoslovakia and Poland without fail take courses for studying the language of the corresponding country. The courses are held at the SU Kl. Okhridski and are completed with the taking of an exam.

(2) The approved students for Hungary and Romania take a 1-year course for studying the language in the appropriate country.

Article 47. The documents for the applicants to study in foreign VUZ under Article 39, Paragraph 1, Point 3 are reviewed prior to 27 August and the accepted applicants are notified by the MNP in writing at the address designated in the petitions.

#### Section IV: The Admission of Student Applicants Who Have Completed Their Secondary Education Abroad

Article 48. (1) Student applicants who have completed their secondary education abroad can continue their education in the VUZ of the appropriate nation where at least one of their parents is employed, in observing the requirements of Article 40, as well as the following conditions:

1. Those who have completed their secondary education in the USSR can apply to a Soviet VUZ in observing the requirements of the Soviet rules for the admission of students. They must have permission to do this from the Bulgarian Embassy in Moscow. An essential condition for obtaining such permission is that they sign and submit to the embassy a declaration that after completing their higher education they will promise to work from 5 to 10 years in Bulgaria in the specialty in accord with the job profile in the sector where they will be assigned to work;



2. Applicants who have completed their secondary education in the USSR and are applying for instruction in the Soviet VUZ in specialties in the arts, architecture, international relations, international economic relations (foreign trade) and journalism must be accepted as students by the corresponding VUZ in Bulgaria. They obtain permission to continue their education in the Soviet VUZ from the MNP;

3. Persons who have completed their secondary education in socialist countries (with the exception of the USSR), capitalist and developing countries, as well as Bulgarian secondary schools abroad must be accepted as students in the corresponding Bulgarian VUZ. They apply under the general proceedings in observing the conditions of the first part of this directive. Permission to continue their education at the VUZ of the corresponding country is given by the MNP.

(2) Student applicants who are Bulgarian citizens and who have completed their secondary education in capitalist and developing countries are permitted to take the competitive exams if they have the following diplomas:

1. A General Certificate of Education "A" (the most advanced level) for persons who have completed a secondary education in countries with the English educational system, in having at least two exams in the specialty subjects. Bulgarian language and literature are not considered as a specialty subject;

2. A Baccalaureat for a secondary education (second level) for those who have completed their education in countries with a French educational system;

3. A Diploma de Bachiller or Certificado de Estudios Secundarios or a Titulo de Bachiller for countries with a Spanish educational system;

4. A Carto do curso complementar dos liceus for those who have completed their education in countries with a Portuguese educational system (Angola, Mozambique). Certificates for a completed pre-university course are not considered as a diploma for a completed secondary education.

Article 49. Student applicants under Article 48, Paragraph 1, Point 1 admitted as students to Soviet VUZ forward to the MNP prior to 1 October for registering the following documents (or copies of them):

1. A petition for registration (free text) which gives the precise address of permanent residence in Bulgaria;

2. A copy of the permission (authorization) issued by the Bulgarian Embassy for applying to Soviet VUZ;

3. A certificate from the Soviet VUZ that they have been accepted as students with the precise name of the specialty;

4. A certificate verifying that the parents (or one of them) are working and are continuing to work in the USSR;

5. An autobiography;

6. A recommendation from the Soviet secondary school which has been completed;
7. A copy of the diploma for a completed secondary education (a secondary education certificate);
8. Two photographs 4 x 6 in size.

Article 50. (1) The student applicants under Article 48, Paragraph 1, Points 2 and 3 submit to the Bulgarian VUZ to which they are applying the documents indicated in Article 11, Paragraph 1, no later than 14 July. The student applicants who will receive their diploma for a completed secondary education later submit a certificate issued by the Bulgarian Embassy in the corresponding country that the student has successfully completed his secondary education. The number of competitive points for such applicants is calculated after the submission to the VUZ of the original diploma checked and notarized by the Bulgarian Embassy in the corresponding country. If preference is not given under Article 26, Paragraph 9, these candidates receive permission to study in Bulgarian VUZ or abroad under the condition that they have obtained a number of competitive points not lower than the number of points of the last ranked person under the general terms for the appropriate vocational area or specialty and category (men who have completed their military service, women and male recruits).

(2) Student applicants who have completed their secondary education in Bulgarian secondary school abroad as well as student applicants who have completed their secondary education in capitalist and developing countries can take the competitive exams in Bulgarian secondary schools in Havana and Tripoli instead of at a Bulgarian VUZ. For this purpose they should submit their application documents, respectively, to the Bulgarian Embassies in Cuba or Libya. The written works of the applicants are sent for grading to the corresponding Bulgarian VUZ. They participate in the ranking on equal grounds with our student applicants completing for the VUZ in the corresponding vocational areas or specialties and in the corresponding category.

(3) For organizing and conducting the applicant competitive exams at the Bulgarian secondary schools in Havana and Tripoli, for the sending and grading of the written works, the ranking and acceptance of the applicants as students, the MNP sends out separate instructions to the embassies and to the Bulgarian VUZ.

(4) The student applicants under Article 48, Paragraph 1, Points 2 and 3 (with the exception of applicants for specialties in the arts) must have sufficient number of points to be admitted to the competitive exams and formed from the corresponding grades on the diploma for a completed secondary education and be not lower than that indicated in Article 6, Paragraph 1, in observing the requirements of Article 7, Paragraphs 2 and 3.

(5) The taking of competitive exams for the corresponding vocational areas and specialties, the reading and grading of the competitive works, the forming of the number of competitive points and the ranking of the student applicants under Article 48, Paragraph 1, Points 2 and 3 are carried out in accord with the requirements of Part II, Chapter 1, Sections III, IV and V.

(6) Instead of exams for certain of the special subjects indicated in Appendix No 1, the student applicants who are Bulgarian citizens and who have completed non-Bulgarian secondary schools can take exams in the subjects designated in Appendices No 4 and 5. The setting of the number of points in the event of the missing special subjects on the diploma for a completed secondary education is done by using the grades in the special subjects designated in Appendices No 2 and 3.

Article 51. Students who have studied abroad because one of their parents was working abroad receive permission to transfer to our corresponding VUZ in the same or similar specialty or vocational area up to 15 September under the condition that they have successfully completed at least one academic year. The determining of the vocational area or specialty and the VUZ where the student will continue his studies in Bulgaria is carried out finally by the MNP.

#### CHAPTER IV: CORRESPONDENCE INSTRUCTION

##### Section I: The Selection and Ranking of Bulgarian Citizens Employed in the USSR for Correspondence Instruction in Soviet VUZ

Article 52. Bulgarian citizens working under contract at projects in the USSR can apply for correspondence education in the Soviet VUZ in the specialties established by the MNP under the following conditions:

1. They have at least 6 months employment at the corresponding project in the USSR by the date of submitting their documents;
2. They meet the conditions of Article 33, Paragraph 1, Points 1, 2 and 4 and Paragraph 7.

Article 53. (1) The student applicants under Article 52 prior to 30 April submit the following documents to the leaders of the corresponding construction or production projects in the USSR:

1. A petition;
2. A notarized copy or photocopy of the diploma for a completed secondary education;
3. A proposal with a recommendation from the leader of the corresponding project along with a copy of the work assignment order;
4. A certificate of length of employment;
5. The ranking card.

(2) The leaders of the construction and production projects forward no later than 5 May to the Bulgarian Embassy in Moscow the list of names and the documents of the proposed candidates for correspondence study in Soviet VUZ.

Article 54. (1) The student applicants under Article 52 take competitive exams indicated in Appendix No 1 on Soviet territory for the various VUZ and specialties.

(2) The competitive exams are taken in the period from 1 to 20 June and are organized and conducted by the MNP with the assistance of the Bulgarian Embassy in Moscow.

(3) The written works are read and graded in Bulgaria by commission appointed by the MNP. The results are forwarded to the corresponding projects in the USSR prior to 15 August.

(4) The figuring of the number of points and the ranking of the student applicants are carried out according to the procedure outlined in Part II, Chapter 1, Sections IV and V and in Chapter 2, Section III. The orders and authorizations of the accepted students are forwarded to the appropriate projects in the USSR prior to 15 August.

(5) After the concluding of a labor contract, the correspondence students can continue their education according to the permission of the MNP. They submit prior to 15 September to the MNP a petition, their academic record and a certificate for a concluded labor contract. The MNP finally determines the vocational area or specialty and the VUZ at which education will be continued and the year of instruction at the corresponding VUZ.

#### FINAL PROVISIONS

§ 1. For evidenced lack of conscientiousness, for the failure to observe the established procedure in grading the written works, in handling the student documents and for the ranking and registering of the students, the commission members may be punished by dismissal under Article 18, Letter "d" of the Law Governing Higher Education and members of administrative personnel under Article 30, Letter "f" of the Labor Code. If the action performed is a crime, the prosecutor's office is notified of this. In these instances the guilty parties do not receive remuneration for the grading of the written works.

§ 2. The student applicants who have submitted documents with incorrect information, who have attempted to give incorrect information in submitting their applicant documents or who mislead the admission commissions, the leadership of the VUZ of the MNP are eliminated from the competition and the prosecutor's office is alerted for initiating criminal liability. If the inaccuracy of the application documents is established after the admission of the applicant, regardless of the year of instruction, the student is expelled from the VUZ and turned over to the prosecutor's office for initiating criminal liability.

§ 3. Petitions and complaints on student applicant questions are forwarded to the rector of the appropriate VUZ prior to 5 September. The rectors of the VUZ settle once and for all all the student applicant questions in accord with the Law Governing Higher Education and this directive prior to 10 September. After 5 September petitions on applicant questions are not accepted, reviewed or resolved.

§ 4. Petitions on applicant questions which have been unresolved by the VUZ rectors are accepted by the MNP only through the VUZ rectors up to 15 September. In forwarding these to the MNP, the rectors state in writing their view of the petitions. The decision of the MNP is final.

§ 5. The sending of Bulgarian students to study abroad is carried out only through the MNP.

§ 6. The spouses of foreign citizens and the children of Bulgarian citizens of mixed marriage living abroad and who have the status of residents of the corresponding country but who have kept their Bulgarian citizenship may register as students in the VUZ of the appropriate country according to the requirements in effect there.

§ 7. The MNP exercises overall leadership and supervision over the application of this directive.

§ 8. This directive is promulgated on the basis of Article 24 of the Law Governing Higher Education and replaces Directive No 4 Governing the Admission of Students to VUZ for the 1983-1984 Academic Year (promulgated in DURZHAVEN VESTNIK, No 27 of 1983; amended and supplemented in No 49 of 1983) and the Directive No 5 Governing the Selection and Sending of Bulgarian Students for Study to Foreign VUZ in the 1983-1984 Academic Year (promulgated in DURZHAVEN VESTNIK, No 19 of 1983; amended and supplemented in No 49 of 1983).

Minister, Al. Fol

List of Vocational Areas, Specialties and Forms of Instruction for the VUZ,  
the Competitive Exams for Special Subjects and Special Subjects of Diplomas  
for a Secondary Education Which Are Used in Forming the Number of Points

Vocational Areas		No.	Specialty	Form of Instruction: Regular (R), Correspondence (C), Evening (E)	Competitive Exams in Special Subjects		Trades in Special Subjects on Diplomas for Secondary Education Used in Forming Number of Competitive Points	
No.	Name		Name		First Subject	Second Subject	First Subject	Second Subject
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

**Sofia Higher  
Mining-Geological  
Institute**

1. Geological prospecting*	1. 1. Mineral prospecting		RC	Mathematics	--	Mathematics	Physics
	1. 2. Equipment and methods of logging		R				
	1. 3. Hydrogeology and engineering geology		R				
	1. 4. Applied geophysics		R				
2. Mining*	2. 1. Exploitation of minerals		RC	Mathematics	--	Mathematics	Physics
	2. 2. Concentration of minerals		R				
4. Machine building and instrument building**	2. 3. Mine surveying		R				
	4.19. Full mechanization and flow lines (for mining industry)		RC	Mathematics	--	Mathematics	Physics

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
5. Electrical engineering**		5. 3. Electric supply and electrical equipment (of mining industry)	RC	Mathematics	--	Mathematics	Physics	
6. Electronics and automation**		6. 7. Automation of production (of mining industry)	R	Mathematics	--	Mathematics	Physics	
Sofia Higher Chemical Engineering Institute								
3. Chemical technologies*		3. 1. Organic synthesis and fuels	R	Chemistry	--	Chemistry	Mathematics	
		3. 2. Inorganic and electrochemical production	R					
		3. 3. Polymer technology, textiles and leathers	R					
		3. 4. Chemical technology of wood	RC					
		3. 5. Silicate technology	RC	Chemistry	--	Chemistry	Mathematics	
		3. 6. Chemical technology and materials for microelectronics and electronic elements	R					
		3. 8. Chemical engineering	R					
		3. 9. Extraction of ferrous metals	RC					
		3.10. Extraction of nonferrous metals	R					

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
4.	Machine building and instrument building**	4.	2. Metalworking by plastic deformation (in metallurgy)	R	Mathematics	--	Mathematics	Physics
		4.	5. Metallurgical equipment	R				
6.	Electronics and automation**	6.	7. Automation of production (for chemical and metallurgical industries)	R	Mathematics	--	Mathematics	Physics
<p><b>Burgas Prof Dr As. Zlatarov Higher Chemical Engineering Institute</b></p>								
3.	Chemical technologies	3.	1. Organic synthesis and fuels	R				
		3.	2. Inorganic and electrochemical production	R				
		3.	3. Polymer technology, textiles and leathers	RC	Chemistry	--	Chemistry	Mathematics
		3.	5. Silicate technology	R				
		3.	7. Water technology	R				
<p><b>Sofia V. I. Lenin Higher Electrical Engineering and Machinery Institute</b></p>								
4.	Machine building and instrument building	4.	1. Technology of metals and metal-working equipment	RC				



1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
			4. 3. Technology of machine building and metal cutting machines	RC				
			4. 4. Materials handling, road and construction machinery	R				
			4. 6. Equipment and technology for textiles and clothing	RC	Mathematics	--	Mathematics	Physics
			4. 8. Railroad equipment	R				
			4. 9. Technology and organization of rail transport	R				
			4.10. Motor vehicle building and motor transport equipment	RC				
			4.11. Technology and organization of motor transport	R				
			4.16. Mechanical instrument building	R				
			4.17. Automated equipment for machine building	R				
			4.19. Full mechanization and flow lines (of machine building, construction and transportation)	R	Mathematics	--	Mathematics	Physics
			4.20. Thermal energy and nuclear power	RC				

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
		4.21.	Heating and mass exchange equipment (for industry, construction)	RC				
		4.22.	Hydraulic and pneumatic equipment	R				
		4.23.	Internal combustion engines	R				
5.	Electrical engineering	5. 1.	Electrical machines and devices	RC				
		5. 2.	Electric plants, networks and systems	RC	Mathematics	--	Mathematics	Physics
		5. 3.	Power supply and electrical equipment (for industry and transportation)	RC				
6.	Electronics and automation	6. 1.	Radio and TV equipment	RC				
		6. 2.	Electronic equipment and microelectronics	RC				
		6. 3.	Computer equipment	RC				
		6. 4.	Communications and security equipment and systems	RC	Mathematics	--	Mathematics	Physics
		6. 5.	Information metering equipment	R				
		6. 6.	Automation and systems engineering	R				
		6. 7.	Automation of production (in industry and transportation)	R				

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
<b>Varna Higher Electrical Engineering and Machinery Institute*</b>								
4.	Machine building and instrument building*		4. 1. Metals technology and metalworking equipment	RC				
			4. 3. Technology of machine building and metalworking machines	RC	Mathematics	--	Mathematics	Physics
			4.13. Shipbuilding**	R				
			4.14. Ship machinery and mechanisms	R				
			4.21 Heating and mass exchange equipment (of chemical industry)	R	Mathematics	--	Mathematics	Physics
			4.23. Internal combustion engines	R				
5.	Electrical engineering		5. 1. Electrical machines and equipment	R				
			5. 3. Electric power supply and electric equipment (for industry and transportation)	RC	Mathematics	--	Mathematics	Physics
6.	Electronics and automation		6. 1. Radio and TV equipment	RC				
			6. 3. Computer equipment	R				
			6. 4. Communications and security equipment and systems	RC	Mathematics	--	Mathematics	Physics

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	<b>Gabrovo Higher Electrical Engineering and Machine Institute*</b>							
	6. 7. Automation of production (in industry)							
	4. Machine building and instrument building*							
		4. 1. Metals technology and metalworking equipment		R	Mathematics	--	Mathematics	Physics
		4. 3. Technology of machine building and metal cutting machines		RC				
		4.16. Mechanical instrument building		R				
	5. Electrical engineering**	5. 3. Power supply and electrical equipment (in industry)		R	Mathematics	--	Mathematics	Physics
	6. Electronics and automation**	6. 2. Electronic equipment and microelectronics		RC	Mathematics	--	Mathematics	Physics
	<b>Ruse Angel Kunchev Higher Technical School*</b>							
	4. Machine building and instrument building*	4. 1. Metals technology and metalworking equipment		RC				
		4. 3. Technology of machine building and metal cutting machines		RC	Mathematics	--	Mathematics	Physics
		4. 7. Agricultural equipment		R				

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
		4.10.	Motor vehicle building and motor transport equipment	RC				
		4.11.	Technology and organization of motor transport	R				
		4.19.	Full mechanization and flow lines (in agriculture** and machine building*)	RC	Mathematics	--	Mathematics	Physics
		4.23.	Internal combustion engines	RC				
	5. Electrical engineering**	5. 3.	Power supply and electrical equipment (in agriculture)	R	Mathematics	--	Mathematics	Physics
	6. Electronics and automation*	6. 3.	Computer equipment	RC				
		6. 7.	Automation of production (in agriculture and industry)	R	Mathematics	--	Mathematics	Physics
	<b>Sofia Higher Institute for Architecture and Construction*</b>							
	8. Architecture**	8. 1.	Architecture	R	Drawing (3 parts)	Mathematics	Mathematics	--
	9. Construction*	9. 1.	Industrial and civil construction	RC	Mathematics	--	Mathematics	Physics
		9. 2.	Transport construction	RC				
		9. 3.	Hydraulic engineering construction	R				

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
		9. 4. Land reclamation construction		R				
		9. 5. Water supply and sewage		RC				
10. Geodesy		10. 1. Geodesy, photogrametry and cartography		R	Mathematics	--	Mathematics	Physics
		10. 2. Land reclamation**		R				
		<b>Plovdiv Higher Institute for the Food Industry</b>						
4. Machine building and instrument building**		4.21. Heat and mass exchange equipment (in the food industry)		RC	Mathematics	--	Mathematics	Physics
6. Electronics and automation**		6. 7. Production automation (in the food industry)		R	Mathematics	--	Mathematics	Physics
7. Food technologies*		7. 1. Technology of animal food products, canning and public dining		RC				
		7. 2. Technology of microbiological and fermentation products		RC	Chemistry	--	Chemistry	Mathematics
		7. 3. Technology of vegetable food products		RC				
		<b>Sofia Higher Wood Technology Institute</b>						
4. Machine building and instrument building**		4.18. Mechanical wood technology		R	Mathematics	--	Mathematics	Physics

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
			4.19. Full mechaniza- tion and flow lines (in forestry and the forest industry)	R				
13. Forestry**			13. 1. Forestry	RC	Mathematics	--	Mathematics	Physics
			13. 2. Landscaping	R	Drawing (2 parts)	Mathematics	Mathematics	--
	<b>Plovdiv Vasil Kolarov Higher Agricultural Institute</b>							
11. Crop raising		11. 1. Agroengineering		RC				
		--crop raising						
		11. 2. Agroengineering		RC	Biology	--	Biology	Chemistry
		--viticulture						
		11. 3. Agroengineering		R				
		--plant and soil protection						
	<b>Stara Zagora Higher Institute for Zootechnics and Veterinary Medicine</b>							
12. Livestock raising**		12. 1. Zooengineering		RC				
		12. 2. Veterinary medicine		R	Biology	--	Biology	Chemistry
	<b>Sofia Karl Marx Higher Economic Institute**</b>							
14. Economics of the national economy and sectors**		14. 1. Political economy		R	Bulgarian geography	--	Bulgarian language & literature	Mathematics

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
		14. 2.	Socioeconomic planning	R	Mathematics --		Bulgarian language & literature	Mathematics
		14. 3.	Accounting and control	RCE	Bulgarian geography	--		
		14. 4.	Finances and credit	RCE				
		14. 5.	Socioeconomic information	R	Mathematics	--		
		14. 6.	Economics and organization of labor	RC	Bulgarian geography	--		
		14. 7.	Economics and management of industry	RC	Mathematics			
		14. 9.	Economics and management of agriculture	RC	Mathematics	--		
		14.10.	Economics and management of transportation	RC	Mathematics	--		
		14.11.	Economics and management of trade	RCE	Mathematics	--		
15. World economy and inter-national relations**		15. 1.	International economic relations	R	Mathematics	Russian, Western language	Bulgarian language & literature	Mathematics
		15. 3.	International relations	R	Russian	Russian language; soc. sci.	Bulgarian language & literature	Soc. sci.



1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
<b>Varna Dimitur Blagoev Higher Institute of the National Economy**</b>								
14. Economics of the national economy and sectors**		14. 3. Accounting and control	RC	Bulgarian geography	--	Bulgarian language & literature	Mathematics	
		14. 5. Socioeconomic information	R	Mathematics	--			
		14. 7. Economics and management of industry	RC	Mathematics	--			
		14. 8. Economics and management of construction	RC	Mathematics	--			
		14.11. Economics and management of trade	RCE	Mathematics	--			
		14.12. Marketing	R	Bulgarian geography	--			
15. World economy and inter- national relations*		15. 2. International tourism	RC	Bulgarian geography	Western language	Bulgarian language & literature	Mathematics	
<b>Svishtov Dimitur A. Tsenov Higher Financial and Economics Institute**</b>								
14. Economics of the national economy and sectors**		14. 2. Socioeconomic planning	R	Mathematics	--	Bulgarian language & literature	Mathematics	

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
		14. 3. Accounting and control	RC	Geography	--	Bulgarian language & literature	Mathematics	
		14. 4. Finances and credit	RC	Geography	--			
		14. 5. Socioeconomic information	R	Mathematics	--			
		14. 7. Economics and management of industry	RC	Mathematics	--			
		14. 9. Economics and management of agriculture	RC	Mathematics	--			
	<b>Sofia Higher Medical Institute*</b>							
	16. Medicine	16. 1. Medicine	R	Biology	Chemistry	Biology	Chemistry	
	17. Stomatology	17. 1. Stomatology	R	Biology	Chemistry	Biology	Chemistry	
	18. Pharmacy	18. 1. Pharmacy	R	Biology	Chemistry	Biology	Chemistry	
	<b>Plovdiv Higher Medical Institute*</b>							
	16. Medicine	16. 1. Medicine	R	Biology	Chemistry	Biology	Chemistry	
	17. Stomatology	17. 1. Stomatology	R	Biology	Chemistry	Biology	Chemistry	
	<b>Varna Higher Medical Institute*</b>							
	16. Medicine	16. 1. Medicine	R	Biology	Chemistry	Biology	Chemistry	
	<b>Pleven Higher Medical Institute*</b>							
	16. Medicine	16. 1. Medicine	R	Biology	Chemistry	Biology	Chemistry	

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
<b>Stara Zagora Higher Medical Institute*</b>								
16. Medicine	16. 1. Medicine	R	Biology	Chemistry	Biology	Chemistry		
<b>Sofia Kliment Okhridski University**</b>								
19. Philology	19. 1. Bulgarian language and literature	RCE	Bulgarian language & literature	History of Bulgaria	Bulgarian language & literature	History		
	19. 2. Russian philology	RC	Russian	Bulgarian language & literature	Russian	Bulgarian language & literature		
	19. 3. Slavic philology	R	Bulgarian language & literature	Russian	Bulgarian language & literature	Russian		
	19. 4. German philology	RC	German	Bulgarian language & literature	German	Bulgarian language & literature		
	19. 5. English philology	RC	English	Bulgarian language & literature	English	Bulgarian language & literature		
	19. 6. French philology	RC	French	Bulgarian language & literature	French	Bulgarian language & literature		
	19. 7. Italian philology	R	Italian	Bulgarian language & literature	Western language	Bulgarian language & literature		
	19. 8. Spanish philology	R	Spanish	Bulgarian language & literature	Western language	Bulgarian language & literature		
	19. 9. Romanian philology	R	Western language	Bulgarian language & literature	Western language	Bulgarian language & literature		

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
		19.10	Hungarian philology	R	Western language	Bulgarian language & literature	Western language	Bulgarian language & literature
		19.11.	Classical philologies	R	Interdisci- plinary exam in Ancient Greek and Latin	Bulgarian language & literature	Ancient Greek & Latin (Western language)	Bulgarian language & literature
		19.12.	Arabic philology	R	Western language	Bulgarian language & literature	Western language	Bulgarian language & literature
		19.13.	Turkology	R				
		19.14.	Indology	R				
	20. History	20. 1.	History	RC	History of Bulgaria	Bulgarian language & literature	History	Bulgarian language & literature
	21. Philosophical and sociolog- ical sciences	21. 1.	Philosophy	RC	History of	Bulgarian language & literature	History	Bulgarian language & literature
		21. 2.	Sociology	R	Bulgaria	Bulgarian language & literature		Bulgarian language & literature
		21. 3.	Psychology	R				
		21. 4.	Journalism	RC	Journalism (written)	Journalism --oral; Bulgarian language & literature	History	--
	22. State and legal sciences	22. 1.	Law	RC	History of Bulgaria	Bulgarian language & literature	History	Bulgarian language & literature
	23. Mathematical sciences	23. 1.	Mathematics	RC	Mathematics	Physics	Mathematics	Physics
	24. Physical sciences	24. 1.	Physics	RC	Physics	Mathematics	Physics	Mathematics
		24. 2.	Engineering physics	R	Physics	Mathematics	Physics	Mathematics
	25. Chemical sciences	25. 1.	Chemistry	RC	Chemistry (written)	Chemistry (oral)	Chemistry	Mathematics
	26. Biological sciences	26. 1.	Biology	RC	Biology	Chemistry	Biology	Chemistry
		26. 2.	Biochemistry and microbiology	R				

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
27. Geology	27. 1. Geology			R	Biology	Chemistry	Biology	Chemistry
28. Geography	28. 1. Geography			RC	Bulgarian geography	History of Bulgaria	Geography	History
29. Pedagogics	29. 1. Pedagogics			RC	History of Bulgaria	Bulgarian language & literature	History	Bulgarian language & literature
	29. 2. Pedagogics of Pioneer and Komsomol activities			R	Bulgarian language & literature	History of Bulgaria	History	Bulgarian language & literature
	29. 3. Pre-school pedagogics			RC	Bulgarian language & literature	Testing of musical abilities and speech	Bulgarian language & literature	History
	29. 4. Primary school pedagogics			RC				
	29. 5. Remedial instruction			R				
30. Historical-philological pedagogical area	30. 3. Bulgarian language and selected Western language			R	Western language (English, German or French)	--	Bulgarian language & literature	Western language
	30. 4. Russian and selected Western language			R	Western language (English, German or French)	--	Russian	Western language
31. Natural science pedagogical area	31. 1. Mathematics and physics			R	Mathematics	--	Mathematics	Physics
	31. 2. Physics and mathematics			R	Physics	--	Physics	Mathematics
	31. 3. Chemistry and physics			R	Chemistry	--	Chemistry	Physics
	31. 4. Biology and chemistry			R	Biology	--	Biology	Chemistry

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
<b>Plovdiv Paisiy Khilendarski University</b>								
19. Philology	19. 1. Bulgarian language and literature	RC	Bulgarian language & literature	History of Bulgaria	Bulgarian language & literature	History		
24. Physical sciences	24. 2. Engineering physics	R	Physics	Mathematics	Physics	Mathematics		
25. Chemical sciences	25. 1. Chemistry	RC	Chemistry (written)	Chemistry (oral)	Chemistry	Mathematics		
26. Biological sciences	26. 1. Biology	RC	Biology	Chemistry	Biology	Chemistry		
29. Pedagogics	29. 3. Pre-school pedagogics	R	Bulgarian language & literature	Testing of musical abilities and speech	Bulgarian language & literature	History		
	29. 4. Primary school pedagogics	R						
31. Natural science pedagogical area	31. 1. Mathematics and physics	R	Mathematics	--	Mathematics	Physics		
	31. 2. Physics and mathematics	R	Physics	--	Physics	Mathematics		
	31. 3. Chemistry and physics	R	Chemistry	--	Chemistry	Physics		
	31. 4. Biology and chemistry	R	Biology	--	Biology	Chemistry		
<b>Veliko Turnovo Kiril i Metodiy University**</b>								
19. Philology	19. 1. Bulgarian language and literature	RC	Bulgarian language & literature	History of Bulgaria	Bulgarian language & literature	History		
	19. 2. Russian philology	RC	Russian	Bulgarian language & literature	Russian	Bulgarian language & literature		
20. History	20. 1. History	RC	History of Bulgaria	Bulgarian language & literature	History	Bulgarian language & literature		

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
29. Pedagogics	29. 3. Pre-school pedagogics	R	Bulgarian language & literature	Testing of musical abilities and speech	Bulgarian language & literature	History		
	29. 4. Primary school pedagogics	R	Drawing (2 parts)	Bulgarian language & literature	Bulgarian language & literature	--		
	29. 8. Pedagogics of fine arts	R	History of Bulgaria	--	History	Geography		
30. Historical and philological pedagogical area	30. 1. History and geography	R	Russian	--	Bulgarian language & literature	Russian		
	30. 2. Bulgarian language and Russian	R	Western language (English, German or French)	--	Bulgarian language & literature	Western language		
	30. 3. Bulgarian and selected Western language	R		--	Russian	Western language		
	30. 4. Russian and selected Western language	R		--				
Shumen Higher Pedagogical Institute**								
19. Philology	19. 1. Bulgarian language and literature	RC	Bulgarian language & literature	History of Bulgaria	Bulgarian language & literature	History		
29. Pedagogics	29. 3. Pre-school pedagogics	R	Bulgarian language & literature	Testing of musical abilities and speech	Bulgarian language & literature	History		
	29. 4. Primary school pedagogics	R	Russian	--	Bulgarian language & literature	Russian		
30. Historical and philological pedagogical area	30. 2. Bulgarian language and Russian	R		--	Bulgarian language & literature	Russian		
31. Natural science pedagogical area	31. 1. Mathematics and physics	R	Mathematics	--	Mathematics	Physics		
	31. 2. Physics and mathematics	R	Physics	--	Physics	Mathematics		
	31. 4. Biology & chemistry	R	Biology	--	Biology	Chemistry		

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
<b>Blagoevgrad Higher Pedagogical Institute*</b>								
29. Pedagogics	29. 3. Pre-school pedagogics	RC	Bulgarian language & literature	Testing of musical abilities and speech	Bulgarian language & literature	History		
	29. 4. Primary school pedagogics	RC						
	29. 5. Remedial instruction	R						
	29. 6. Pedagogics of labor polytechnical training	R	Physics	--	Bulgarian language & literature	Physics		
<b>Sofia Georgi Dimitrov Higher Institute for Physical Culture</b>								
29. Pedagogics	29.10. Physical education	RC						
	29.11. Basic military instruction and physical education	R			According to requirements of institute	Bulgarian language	--	
<b>Plovdiv Higher Musical Pedagogics Institute**</b>								
29. Pedagogics	29. 7. Musical pedagogics	RC						

According to requirements of Culture Committee

Note: \* For regular instruction application is made by vocational areas;

\*\* For regular instruction application is made by specialty.

Appendix No 1 shows all vocational areas, specialties and forms of instruction according to the nomenclature approved by the Decree No 8 of the Council of Ministers of 22 March 1983 for the vocational areas and specialties of higher education, the periods of instruction and the network of VUZ in Bulgaria. For each academic year, the MNP, with the approval of the appropriate state bodies, determines a specific plan for the admitting of new students to the VUZ, for the vocational areas, specialties, forms of instruction and the categories of women, men who have done their military service and recruits.



PARTICIPATION OF MASSES IN ADMINISTRATION DEEMED DESIRABLE

Prague NOVA MYSL in Slovak No 2, Jan 84 pp 75-83

[Article by Milos Rehurek, Institute of State and Law, Slovak Academy of Sciences, Bratislava: "Social Organizations at the Present Time"]

[Text] The characteristics of a socialist political system include the programmed and purposeful creation of the broadest possible opportunity for active and conscientious worker participation in the administration of the state and the management of society in the area of political and socio-economic relations as well as in the development of socialist culture, training and education. This important aspect of a socialist political system stems from the Marxist-Leninist understanding of the creative role of the masses in the development of human society and of the historical mission of the working class in the revolutionary process of the restructuring of capitalism into a socialist and communist society. Its existence is an outcome of the implementation of the Leninist thesis concerning the inevitability of the formation of a firm bond between the proletariat and other, nonproletarian strata of workers as a condition for the successful building of socialism. The generalization of the experiences of the international revolutionary movement has confirmed that the principle of worker participation in the administration of public affairs is a generally valid law of the historical epoch of the shift from capitalism to communism and one of the basic attributes of the evolution of a socialist revolution.

The attitudes toward this principle and, primarily, the approach to its realization illustrate clearly the diametrically opposed views of formal bourgeois democracy and real socialist democracy.

In a bourgeois democracy, the ruling class consciously and with increasingly improved techniques restricts the participation of the population solely to the area of politics, and rigorously links the degree of possible participation to the economic status of the individual-citizen, which is determined by the private ownership of the means of production. This means that for a majority of the population the right to participate in the administration of the state, as well as all other democratic rights and freedoms, are for practical purposes only proclaimed rights, rights which are difficult to exercise in real life or which are quite unrealizable. The preservation of capitalist production relations suits this situation, because the political activity of the workers usually leads to undesirable complications for the bourgeoisie and to an increase in class tension in a bourgeois society.

The building of socialism, on the other hand, is directly dependent on the active participation of workers in all areas of social life, and on the rise of the citizen as a fellow creator in the formulation and implementation of political, social, economic and cultural objectives. For this reason socialist democracy is broadening its influence beyond the boundaries of "classical" politics to enrich its content with other areas. Recently, particular emphasis has been placed on the importance of democratism in the production sphere through work collectives. This also quite logically expands the ranks of its bearers to include all workers.

Socialist democracy is characterized by its activation of rights and freedoms and its stimulation of active worker involvement and democratic participation in political and social life. The leading force of a socialist political system--a Marxist-Leninist party--devotes systematic attention to the improvement of mechanisms with the help of which and by means of which socialist democracy is implemented. The party is the critical political guarantor of the actuality of the democratic rights and freedoms of workers.

The achievement of a high level of participation by the broad masses in the administration of a socialist state and the conversion of the potential for active worker participation in the complex process of managing public affairs into a permanent reality is the demanding task of daily political practice. Despite the undoubtedly positive results which have been achieved in the implementation of these goals, public activity is not always generated to the requisite degree in all sectors of society, or with the intensity and effectiveness demanded by public requirements. At the same time, the basic and critical preconditions have been created: the development of high-quality, new socialist social relations has eliminated the gap between the interests of the socialist society as represented by the state and the interests of citizens; the internal cohesiveness of socialism and true democracy has created the opportunity for creative work and for the self-realization of the individual; the level of socialist construction that has been achieved assures an adequate material base for individual and publicly useful activity.

An analysis of the current situation indicates that the development of worker participation in the management of all the important sectors of a socialist society is a process which does not take place haphazardly and which is not realized automatically and without obstacles. It contains certain elements which are nonorganic only at first glance, even though they are basically contradictory which reflect the relationship of collectively understood rights and responsibilities of workers. Y. Andropov, in his article, "The Teachings of Karl Marx and Several Issues in the Building of Socialism in the USSR," has cited this relationship as the primary motive force in social progress. Their implementation, despite their contradictions, forms the basis for the development of socialist democracy.

These contradictions are not, of course, antagonistic and their existence does not imply that any kind of fundamental, irreconcilable conflict exists between the right of participation by the popular masses in the management of society and the principles of socialist democracy. These contradictions are caused by the immature state of existing social relationships and, especially, by their

subjective factors. They take on two primary forms in real life. On the one hand, they disrupt and make impossible the fuller implementation of the rights of participation by the broad mass of workers in the management of socialist society from the outside, taking the form of objective obstacles, and on the other hand appear as reasons of a subjective character. In both instances they are based on an improper and erroneous evaluation of the relation between the collective rights and responsibilities of workers in a socialist society, which arise due to the underestimation or complete ignoring of their materialistic-dialectic nature. This is primarily a matter of phenomena that are linked and mutually interdependent.

The first group includes, above all, bureaucracy and its rejectionist and condescending attitude toward initiatives from below, considering them openly as disruptive and unjustified meddling in the "proven" routines of state management and administration. This category also includes various types of formalism which to be sure do not oppose public participation in political management, but which nevertheless basically consider this participation to be unqualified and minimize its impact by a whole range of formal and procedural limitations. The socially dangerous outcome of a bureaucratic and formalistic approach is that it can numb citizen activity and result in an undesirable trend toward indifference to public affairs by certain portions of the population.

In the second group we have the subjective reasons which lead to the failure to utilize the given potential of the democratic technique of decisionmaking. It is manifested as an apparent lack of will on the part of some citizens to become involved in matters not of strictly personal interest, such as the reluctance to cultivate within oneself the capacity for rational and qualified involvement in public affairs. A lack of interest in social problems and their solutions, the unwillingness to contribute one's own views and, especially a committed attitude toward the acceleration of the process in which socialist values and relationships and the evolving forms of a socialist life style are being strengthened are not, however, the result of inborn dispositions but rather a consequence of the destruction of a value system for some citizens, distorted conceptions of the relationship between the rights and responsibilities of the individual under socialism. These are the sources of a deformed, petty-bourgeois, consumerist and materialistically oriented attitude toward life on the part of a portion of the population.

These negative aspects also belong to a full and objective picture of the struggle for the intensification and improvement of socialist democracy, particularly in the context of the efforts of our party to overcome the negative phenomena which, although they are not predominant, are retarding the further development of Czechoslovak society and the implementation of the tasks outlined by the 16th CPCZ Congress in the area of the development of the economy, culture and the intensification of socialist democracy.

It is not accidental that the 16th CPCZ Congress, in formulating tasks for the intensification of socialist democracy, assigned a significant mission to the National Front and the social organizations combined within it. In the "Report on Party Activity and the Development of Society Since the 15th Party Congress

and Other Party Tasks," delivered by Comrade Gustav Husak, this task was expressed in these words: "...the National Front and the organizations combined within it, the national committees, legislative bodies, executive state organs, our entire legal order and educational and information system, represents a broad base for the intensification of socialist democracy. We perceive the purpose and content of democracy to lie in the ever increasing participation by our people in the management of the country, the resolution of state and public affairs, in the daily decisionmaking concerning events in the plant, the village and the city. We will intensify and defend this true democracy, this democracy of the working masses."

The National Front and the organizations combined within it have proven their worth in the contemporary history of Czechoslovakia. Under the leadership of the CPCZ they have become an important element of socialist democracy and an important link in the socialist political system. Social organizations have again and again demonstrated their vitality as new institutions linked to socialism. It is therefore logical that their importance grow during the stage of building a developed socialist society and it is right to expect from them that they will fulfill ever more demanding public tasks.

At the current stage of development of the CSSR, the basic functions of social organizations are more clearly coming to the fore: this includes their role in coordinating and unifying, through their activities, the individual and group interests of their members with public interests. The potential for their development and fuller implementation exists in basic socio-political accord between public, group and individual interests which stems from socialist public relationships and from the ongoing merger of classes and social groups, nationalities and ethnic groups of the CSSR, and a strengthening of the trends toward the comprehensive unification of society. These realities and developmental trends make it possible for the activities of social organizations based on the principle of volunteer service to be raised to a new, higher level.

These realities do not mean, however, that at the current stage of our development individual, group and public interests are already identical, or even that the existence of a basic socio-political accord between social classes and strata eliminates the rise and influence of antisocialist phenomena on the part of a limited number of individuals or small, isolated groups. This is why, at the stage of building a developed socialist society, the basic function of public organizations consists in the integration of legal individual and group interests with public interests, which are dialectical in nature. This is not a matter of the mechanical "assertion" of public interests against the members of public organizations or of an uncritical acceptance of the member views as in the interest of public organizations. It is still true that a socialist state legally regulates the merging of citizens in order to eliminate the rise of antisocialist associations, and punishes with criminal penalties illegal gatherings with the objective of organizing antisocialist activities.

A new, more sophisticated level of activity for the social organizations grouped in the National Front of the CSSR cannot be achieved by one-time measures which might, moreover, be justified as just another stage in the building

of socialism. Experience from the functioning of individual social organizations indicates that the system of social organizations grouped under the National Front of the CSSR constitutes a very important mechanism for the development of socialist democracy, which has served to double and thereby strengthen its mechanism in the form, primarily, of a popularized state mechanism, which is represented in Czechoslovakia above all by the national committee system. On the other hand, an analysis of experiences has uncovered underutilized capacity and shortcomings which exist in the activities of social organizations, and contribute to a clarification of the main spheres of activity of social organizations in the current phase of development.

For social organizations in the current phase of development of the CSSR to fulfill their mission fully, consistently and more professionally, it is above all necessary that each of them, based on an analysis of their own activities, uncover and eliminate underutilized capacity and shortcomings in their activities. The need for greater professionalism on all publicly important types of activity, as emphasized by the 16th CPCZ Congress, applies fully to all social organizations, to their executive organs, their entire organizational structures and naturally to their individual members.

The development of the conditions for the better and above all more effective integration of the individual and group interests of its membership with the public interest requires the patient overcoming of all manifestations of formalism, of detachment from currently top-priority public problems and objectives, of the tendency to evaluate the results of work only on the basis of quantitative indicators, and contentment with outdated forms of work.

It is essential that all public organizations at this stage in the development of a developed socialist society more significantly focus their efforts and more actively participate in the implementation of the economic and social program of the CPCZ for the strengthening of the socialist consciousness of workers, and for more effective assistance in the assurance of strategic objectives---the shift from extensive forms of economic growth to intensive ones. One of the pressing tasks as formulated by the Eighth CPCZ Central Committee Plenum in June 1983 is the accelerated practical implementation of R&D results, which is intended to foster an increase in the dynamic development of the national economy. It is natural that the programs of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement [ROH], the Socialist Youth League [SSM] and the Czechoslovak Women's Union [CSSZ] may have other forms, methods and partial objectives for their participation in the resolution of these pressing problems. Every social organization, depending on its mission and nature, must establish an optimal involvement in critical public tasks. This also guarantees that the plans for activity of specific organizations will not contain undesirable overlaps and will retain their uniqueness.

Emphasis on the importance of the participation by social organizations in the resolution of public problems in the current stage of development does not imply the negation of the group interests of the membership of individual organizations, which could lead to passivity on the part of some of their members.

Ideological-educational activity is coming significantly to the fore in the current tasks of public organizations. This is necessary because of the complexity of the international political situation, which has been increased by manifestations of anticommunism, and because of the difficulty of the tasks which our society is resolving under CPCZ leadership at this stage of building a developed socialist society.

Organs of the National Front play a critical role in the proper orientation of the activities of social organizations, in assuring the proper division of labor and in the essential coordination of their activities. These organs see to it that the strategy of our party is correctly interpreted in individual social organizations, transferred into their own specific programs, and that this program is consistently implemented.

The implementation of the socio-political program of the party and, in particular, its priority objective of accelerating the practical implementation of R&D findings is tied above all to the production sphere and directly affects those social organizations which are organized on a production, or a production-territorial principle (ROH, CSSR ZDR, SSM, etc.). Emphasizing the roles of these organizations does not, however, reduce the importance of those social organizations organized according to a territorial principle. What is essential is to intensify the activity of social organizations primarily in the cities but also in regional centers and to increase substantially their cooperation with the pertinent national committees and their auxiliary organs, especially citizen committees.

While an extensive sociological foundation does not yet exist, it appears that the center of the lives and activities of citizens is shifting more and more to the sphere of individual work activity (sometimes even at the expense of work time) and that residential life is undergoing a process of privatization which we are not being very successful in slowing down and eliminating despite efforts of national committees and the activity of citizen committees. This issue of a weakening of joint citizen responsibility for their town, apartment complexes and cities must not be underestimated. One of the mechanisms for overcoming this indifference and passivity regarding problems of one's immediate environment must be sought in the social organizations.

An aspect of the activities of social organizations that has not received full recognition is their controlling activity, particularly in the area of their direct impact as a component of the system of people's control. Its inconsistent utilization conflicts with the foundations of socialist democracy, weakens the standing of social organizations in the eyes of their membership and does not contribute to uncovering various shortcomings, conflicts, and sloppy organization. Social organizations without exception are charged with the task of contributing to the creation of a creative, healthy and critical environment at workplaces and in residential areas and, in this regard, with supporting in a significant way the implementation of CPCZ policy.

The tasks for social organizations during the building of a developed socialist society undoubtedly include the strengthening and the assurance of the full scope of democratic rights and freedoms of workers, participation in the

strengthening of the democratic statute of a socialist personality. The development of the individual and of his creative capacities is the cardinal objective of the building of socialism and one to which social organizations make a substantial contribution.

The fact that they facilitate the exercise of rights to participate in state administration and the management of society contributes to a situation in which workers become the subject of socialist political relations, resulting in a significant strengthening of their position as the bearers of democratic rights and freedoms. In particular, it is the mass social organizations such as the unions, cooperative farmer organizations, youth organizations and women's organizations which have exceptional importance from the viewpoint of assuring the democratic rights and freedoms of the workers. In his speech at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum on 15 June 1983, Y. Andropov stated that "...the means by which resolutions are approved regarding the important issues in the life of the state and the society can be further democratized." In this regard, he noted that he has had in mind "...a still broader evaluation of proposed resolutions in work collectives, the obligatory adherence to decisions by unions, the Komsomol and women's organizations on these issues, and as attentive as possible an approach to suggestions."

Such an approach has a highly positive impact on the intensification of socialist democracy, in which the will of the people becomes the true source of state power and the universal socialist state becomes a state for all workers. It creates a new opportunity for social organizations to engage in publicly useful activity which can deepen their contribution to the fulfillment of public objectives, the development of the socialist personality, and a strengthening of their social position.

In order to understand properly the place and role of social organizations during the building of a developed socialist society it is essential to clarify the issue of the future of social organizations under the conditions of building the foundations for communist autonomy. This is both a theoretical and a practical question.

It is well known that at the end of the 1950's and beginning of the 1960's a thesis appeared in the theory of social organizations that it was precisely institutions of this type that were "called" to take upon themselves the function and role of the state that was already withering away. This thesis even found formal legal expression in some socialist countries. Subsequent social practice did not bear this thesis out, but rather exposed its weaknesses. The formulation of this thesis was based on two preconditions: one that was undoubtedly true--that socialist organizations were cooperating closely with the socialist state, and one that was not tested well enough--namely that the socialist state would wither away imminently and that there would be a quick shift to communist autonomy.

Close cooperation between a socialist state and social organizations is a result of their unity of basic interests. Both the socialist state and social organizations assure, under the leadership of the communist party, the building of socialism in its various stages and spheres. Their mutual objective is the

building of communism. This does not alter the reality that the great majority of the specific tasks stemming from this general, historically determined strategy are implemented by the socialist state, using methods different from those used by social organizations. Even the fact that a social organization, as the immediate representative of the private interests of its members, can in a given situation come into conflict with various viewpoints of a certain state organ or of its functionaries does not imply that the principles of cooperation between these two institutions are being violated. In cases where the interests of their members are just, social organizations are supposed to defend the interests of these members. This responsibility to defend the legal interests of members, however, must not lead to a situation in which a social organization, or more than one such organization, becomes either openly or clandestinely opposed to the socialist state. This serious political postulate is assured by the implementation of the leading role of the party in the entire political system of a socialist society.

It has been shown that on the way to the building of communism it is necessary to pass through the stage of building a developed socialist society, the stage of developed socialism and the improvement of this system, a process which takes a long time. The fact that the conception of the quick dying out of the socialist state was not confirmed by social practice demonstrated the lack of justification for views concerning the immediate passing over of the function of the state to the social organizations.

The issue of social organizations as the sometimes projected but never completely confirmed forerunner of institutions of communist autonomy, however, does not involve only the time factor in the sense that it is only a matter of time until social organizations are transformed into the institutions of communist autonomy. The study and comparison of the nature of social organizations with conceptions of institutions of communist autonomy does not confirm a direct relation between them even in terms of their bases. It rather demonstrates that social organizations will express, even under the conditions of communist autonomy, specific (personal, professional) interests alongside the autonomous institutions, which will always represent public interests, even if only on a local scale.

The building of a developed socialist society emphasizes the mission of social organizations as schools of communism, i.e., as institutions in which their members learn the art of administering and managing public affairs without pressure from the state, with the assistance of committed discipline and the retention of the voluntarily adopted norms for self-management.

Social organizations are currently playing an important role, and should play an even more important one in the future in strengthening the class ties of workers within the leading role of the working class. This is not the case only because this is in the interest of the ruling class, but because it is a matter of the public interest, which is objectively higher in a value hierarchy. The basic function of social organizations is moving more and more in a direction where, under the leadership of the communist party, it is becoming one of the most important factors in the unification of the socialist society in a socio-economic sense, a joint creator of a society of liberated work, and a mechanism for the metamorphosis of a real socialist democracy into a highly organized communist society in which "the management of things replaces the management of people."



INDRA PRAISES LENINISM, ATTACKS REVISIONISM

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 8, 22 Feb 84 p 3

[Article by Alois Indra, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly]

[Text] Fifty-five years ago--between 18 and 23 February 1929--the Fifth CPCZ Congress was held in Prague. Its significance was accurately summed up by Klement Gottwald's opening speech, in which he stated: "The Fifth CPCZ Congress has direct historical significance for the party and the workers movement in Czechoslovakia." The historical development in the 55 years that followed has confirmed this statement totally.

Our rivals--the defenders of capitalism, revisionists, and opportunists of all shades--constantly attack the history of our party. Without bothering to study the history or investigate the facts, objective and subjective conditions, and especially the results of political struggles, they assert that the history of the CPCZ is some kind of a chain of mistakes and errors, fractional infighting and outside interference, weaknesses and defeats. They are especially unable to digest the Fifth Congress. They are not aware that by attacking us they are offering the best compliments to the Fifth Congress in the eyes of the working class and the working people.

The CPCZ originated as a mass party and nobody can deny that its very appearance on the Czechoslovak political scene was a very unusual fact. The party became the most determined opponent of the bourgeoisie; it revealed the true face of the reformist politicians; and it was a steadfast defender of the working people, especially of workers and small peasants. The party originated, however, in the womb of social democracy. Thus, there is nothing unusual in the fact that it could not change itself "overnight" into a mature revolutionary party in the Leninist sense. Such "miracles" do not take place in political movements. Each party member, each holder of a party card could not be a real communist right away. The new party was plagued during the initial stage of its existence by social democratic ideas and organizational habits. The difficulties in the struggle against the bourgeoisie and partial defeats resulted in political and ideological disputes and "tilled the soil" which, during a certain period, gave rise to right-wing revisionism and opportunism. The weakening of the party's ability to fight and the undermining of its ability to work were echoed in the "left-wing" radicalism

which manifested itself in underestimating the revolutionary theory, inadmissibly simplifying the problems of political practice, leading in its consequences to sectarian isolationism. This is, after all, a development which has affected perhaps every single communist party. And in all cases it was up to each party to find the proper way out of such a morass.

A study of revolutionary theory, experience from political practice, and the gradual acquisition of the knowledge stemming from the Bolshevik Revolution and the building of socialism in the Soviet Union contributed to the growth of political consciousness of the ever-growing number of Czechoslovak communists. They started to understand--and this applies primarily to the young generation--that the party must formulate a clear strategy for its policy and adopt effective tactics for its further work, namely, to strive for a closer relationship with the working class and its potential allies and build its internal life based on the principles of democratic centralism and intraparty democracy.

#### Against Opportunistic Tendencies

The struggle for the character of the party, its authority among the masses, the growth of its influence on the political life of the country--in other words, the struggle for its future--reached its high point in the second half of the 1920's. This struggle was aimed at Jilek and his group, at an opportunistic policy which was leading the party to failure. (In that case, as in other cases, developments showed how closely right-wing and "left-wing" opportunism are to one another. They both originate from the violation of the principles of life of a new-type revolutionary party and in their consequences always help its enemies and cause harm to revolution.) The Communist International, aware of its responsibility vis-a-vis socialist revolution, could not remain silent in the face of this development. It considered it an internationalist duty to help the Czechoslovak communists. The Communist International discussed several times the situation in the CPCZ, always in the presence of the party's representatives or on the basis of their reports. At its congress in 1928, the Communist International adopted the position of the CPCZ's left wing, presented by K. Gottwald. Immediately thereafter, the executive of the Communist International appealed to all CPCZ members through an open letter characteristically entitled "From Opportunist Passivity to Bolshevik Activity." The content of this letter was subject to wide intraparty discussion which helped to crystallize opinions, and made very evident the opportunism of Jilek and his followers. This was a complicated process in which, however, the left wing, led by K. Gottwald gradually won a majority. The defenders of this line won the confidence of party members and had a majority among the elected delegates to the party congress. Thus, the path to the bolshevization of the CPCZ was underway.

The discussion which took place prior to the congress and the resulting composition of the delegates were so persuasive that Jilek lost the courage to present his report entitled "The Situation and Tasks of the Party"; the discussion only confirmed Klement Gottwald's words to the effect that the old party leadership had ceased to exist, that it deserted and threw

the rifle away, and that it wanted to evade responsibility. The task of delivering the main report was brilliantly fulfilled by Klement Gottwald, who carefully analyzed the reasons for the party's crisis and named those guilty. In a persuasive way, showing deep theoretical knowledge, he especially destroyed the assertion of Jilek's aides concerning the "stabilization of capitalism" and the "passivity of the masses." Future developments soon confirmed Gottwald's position when "stabilized capitalism" started to fall victim to a deep economic crisis which also affected Czechoslovakia without mercy. The Fifth Congress, making full use of Marxist-Leninist teaching, stated a strategic goal: social revolution as a means for the overthrow of the bourgeois dictatorship and for the introduction of the political power of the working class. The congress also adopted the tactics whose aim was to establish a better relationship with the people, including the activization of the mass organizations associated with the party. The congress also emphasized the Leninist principles of party building, accentuating the revolutionary discipline of party members, the purity of their ranks, ideological unity, and rejecting opportunism and its advocates.

The right-wing revisionists criticized the Fifth Congress for certain partial mistakes in nationality and agricultural policies, in the characterization of the Czechoslovak state and in reasons for its founding, in the overestimation of the danger of fascism from the group around the Presidential Castle, etc. They asserted that the party had lost its "national character" and had become an agent of a foreign power. More than that, however, they resented the basic Leninist attitudes, the application of the generally valid principles of socialist revolution--a single-minded revolutionary orientation. From their point of view, stated briefly, they saw the decisions of the Fifth Congress as the "cause of all evil." To the revisionists and their followers, Klement Gottwald answered in these words: "...the shouting of the bourgeoisie and the tenacious resistance of our own revisionists is one of the best indications that the party is finally on a right path." If we evaluate developments since that time, especially the concrete results of the CPCZ policy, there is nothing we could add.

#### Revolutionary Vanguard

The bolshevization of the CPCZ was a complex process which did not culminate with the Fifth Congress. However, the congress gave an important impulse to this bolshevization effort and the consistent application of the congress' resolutions was a guarantee that the party would remain on its revolutionary path. Organizationally, the party parted with the opportunists. Gottwald's leadership successfully won over undecided and disoriented members, and by its systematic organization ability improved the work of the party. In difficult social and political struggles, in mass strikes and demonstrations waged by workers and the unemployed, in the struggle for the rights of small peasants and agricultural workers, Jilek's thesis concerning the "passivity of the masses" disappeared like a cloud. The situation confirmed that it was the old party leadership which was passive, that the people guided by a revolutionary party which was able to adopt the topical slogans were determined to fight for their social and political rights. The party

established unusually close links with the people. Respect for the party grew and the working people recognized in the party their organized vanguard. During the time of serious trials for our country, at the time of the ascent of fascism and the defeatist attitude of the governing bourgeoisie, we witnessed the collapse of a carefully cultivated legend which presented the communists as "evil-doers and corrupters" of the republic. The communists, led by Klement Gottwald, proved their pure patriotism and were in the forefront of those who were the most determined defenders of the republic against German and domestic fascists. They were never reconciled to the betrayal by our Western allies and forever remained the determined adversaries of the Munich Dictate. Seen in this way by the Czechoslovak public, the communists were in the forefront of the national liberation movement. They were the most active force of the national democratic revolution. When Klement Gottwald returned to his liberated country as deputy prime minister, when the CPCZ became the largest party in the country, the prerequisites for the transition of the national democratic revolution in a socialist revolution were created. And the party did not miss this opportunity. At that time, the revolutionary line adopted at the Fifth Congress, taking into consideration both domestic and external conditions, took upon itself a new characteristic and led to victory--to the takeover of political power by the working class and the working people. The relationship between the Fifth Congress and the events of February 1948, is indisputable. The victory of the people was a triumph of CPCZ policy, of its close relationship with the masses, a masterful exercise of revolutionary strategy and tactics.

The years of building a socialist society have confirmed that the basic principles adopted at the Fifth Congress have lost none of their validity--while, naturally, respecting new tasks under new conditions. Basically, we are talking about the party's bolshevik activity where the term "bolshevism" (what an effort has been spent by our enemies to discredit this term) is for us synonymous with Leninism. The well-thought-out application of Leninist teaching has been the foundation of all our successes. Leninist teaching contains, in addition to the generally valid principles of socialist revolution, the requirement to respect national differences as well as the independence of each revolutionary party, its responsibility to its own people and to the world revolutionary movement. The priority given to the solution of one's own tasks cannot lead to some kind of "national separation" of the revolutionary parties, and any violation of the principles of proletarian internationalism harms the interests of the socialist revolution. Unfortunately, we know from our own experience the disastrous consequences of abandoning Leninism as revolutionary teaching as well as a style of work. Underestimating the theory of Marxism-Leninism, using pragmatism and empty routine work, suppressing criticism and self-criticism, pursuing the personality cult and failing to respect the principles of collective leadership and personal responsibility, engaging in uncritical self-satisfaction--all this leads in its consequences to the separation of the party from the masses and to loss of respect for the party. Many of these phenomena were the causes of the mistakes we made during the first decade of socialist construction. They culminated in their sharpest form at the end of the 1960's, when the floodgates were open to right-wing criticism which went hand in glove with a counterrevolutionary flood. The assistance

rendered by our allies has created conditions for conscientious communists and real patriots to join hands in order to save socialism and to repair the political and economic damage caused.

### The Leninist Path

At its April plenum in 1969 (whose 15th anniversary we will celebrate this year), the Central Committee, by electing Gustav Husak as its leader, took a decisive step toward overcoming the crisis in the party and society. The party returned to the revival of basic socialist values. The point of departure for solving the complex tasks was Marxist-Leninist teaching. In strengthening our alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the party has assured the safety of our country and secured the conditions for the peaceful work of our people. There was nothing accidental in the fact that the Central Committee adopted as one of its basic goals Gottwald's thesis: "Face the masses." After all, the party can fulfill its historic mission only in a close relationship with the people, with its understanding and active support. And only those party members who show ideological maturity, political consciousness, exemplary life and high moral norms can win our citizens over to the party's policy. For this reason, the party cares about the purity of its ranks and the party does this not only during periods of serious trials, but all the time. For this reason the party sees to it that the number of workers and cooperative peasants on the party rolls increases. For this reason the party pays increased attention to the young generation. Only a party which is able to work and lead, in other other words, a party which is ideologically, politically, and organizationally united, is able to realize a close relationship between itself and the people.

The results of the past 15 years are based on respect for the Leninist norms of party life, observance of the principles of intraparty democracy and democratic centralism. Basic criticism and development of self-criticism are an inalienable right and duty of each party member. Also, ideological struggle, opposition to revisionism as well as opportunism--and here we are talking not only of a political direction but also of the manifestations of inconsistent application of party policy in practice--are a permanent fixture in our work.

The relationship between the party and the people--this basic demand of Leninism--is also expressed in the effort to improve and strengthen socialist democracy. Nobody has the slightest right to violate the basic article of our Constitution: "All power in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic belongs to the working people." The party considers it its duty to create optimal conditions for the participation of the broadest spectrum of the people in the administration of public affairs, including the management of the economy. Our goal is to see to it that the entire system of representative assemblies fulfill in the first place its political mission, to serve the people and express the people's basic interests and to strengthen the socialist state. It is also necessary to make it possible for the people to participate in administration through the organs of the National Front and social organizations. Every honest citizen in our country has an opportunity

to take part in the management of public affairs; every citizen can apply his ideas, talents and industry. The broad right of our citizens, however, can never be separated from their duties, which are spelled out in laws and rules of socialist co-existence. The laws must apply to everybody.

The Bolshevik--or Leninist--party activity and the resulting close relationship between the party and the people are a key to the solution of all our current tasks in building a developed socialist society. We have in mind a series of problems, starting with economic and social policy, education and culture, political education, the increased activity of the entire National Front, strengthening moral-political unity, and ending with foreign policy and improving the defense of our country. The basic line was determined at the 16th CPCZ Congress and has been concretely spelled out in the directives issued by the Central Committee and the Presidium. The order of the day is to concentrate all the forces of the party, the knowledge and the ability of our people toward a consistent application of this line at each workplace under the jurisdiction of individual party organs and organizations.

Even in the current uneasy international political climate we have prerequisites for a systematic task to build because of our alliance with other socialist countries, especially with the Soviet Union. The latter's consistent peace policy, its great economic and defense potential guarantee the inviolability of our borders, the peace and tranquility of our homes. To support the foreign policy of the USSR actively, to collaborate with developing countries, to assist the national liberation movements, to trust the determination of the millions of peace fighters in the entire world--this, too, is a legacy of the Fifth Congress whose participants convincingly accepted the principles of proletarian internationalism and saw in the Soviet Union a model for us and a hope for progressive humanity.

We proudly acknowledge the basic principles of the Fifth CPCZ Congress because this event has become for us a permanent compass of the revolutionary teaching of Marxism-Leninism. Marxist-Leninist teaching is the safest guarantee that we will not be derailed from our socialist path, that we will successfully carry on the work for which a solid foundation was laid down 55 years ago by the delegates to the Fifth Congress--the work to which Comrade Klement Gottwald dedicated his entire life.

1277

CSO: 2400/263

THIRD WORLD RELATIONS, SOLIDARITY PROJECTS OUTLINED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24 Feb 84 p 6

[Article datelined Berlin ADN: "Thoughts of Solidarity Mould Daily Action--Expanded Presidium Meeting of the GDR Committee in Berlin"]

[Text] The firm solidarity of the citizens of the GDR with all peoples who defend the independence of their nations, their right to national selfdetermination and social progress was emphasized Thursday at an expanded presidium meeting of the solidarity committee of the GDR. Kurt Seibt, the chairman of the committee, said that in the 35th year of the republic the solidarity movement was faced with new challenges of effectively countering the politics of confrontation as practiced by the most aggressive imperialistic circles and supporting the struggles of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The presidium of the committee calls on the citizen of the GDR to continue to do its utmost to strengthen their socialist state and to consolidate the solidarity movement.

In view of the constant threat to Nicaragua by U.S. imperialism and the constant attacks of the counterrevolution, solidarity with the heroic people of Central America is of particular importance. In addition to sending a variety of urgently needed goods, the committee is lending its support for the rapid completion of a vocational training center in Jinotepe where in the future about 240 skilled workers will be trained annually. The GDR consistently backs the PLO and supports its right to a homeland and its struggle for a free Palestine. Kurt Seibt called the medical treatment of these wounded patriots in GDR health care facilities a crucial type of solidarity aid.

Regarding the balance of the solidarity activities in 1983, Kurt Seibt referred to numerous campaigns which were supported by millions of citizens. Among others, he mentioned the "Toys for Nicaraguan Children" initiative, the solidarity shipments for the United Nations Children's Fund, including the large shipment of medicine for Kampuchea, immediate material aid for children in Angola (the victims of South African aggression), as well as shipments to Angola and Mozambique to aid their recovery from storm damage.

The chairman of the committee thanked the parties and mass organizations, the government and all GDR citizens for their constant support and promotion of the solidarity movement.

At the close of the meeting, deserving collectives, including the "Neues Deutschland" printing office, were awarded the committee's banner and ribbon of honor for anti-imperialistic solidarity.

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During the discussion representatives of social organizations and labor collectives had stated how citizens of all classes and walks of life will continue to exhibit internationalism in word and deed. Dr. Heinrich Toeplitz, chairman of the GDR committee for the first decade of struggle against racism and racial discrimination reported on the diverse contributions of the GDR to the struggle against the inhuman apartheid regime in South Africa. He stated that the tasks of the second decade of struggle, adopted by the U.N., are being acted upon by the GDR solidarity committee.

12552

CSO: 2300/320



GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

CONVOLUTED PATHS OF SED'S WESTERN PUBLISHING BUSINESS ANALYZED

Bonn DIE WELT in German 11 Feb 84 p 4

[Article by Werner Kahl: "East Berlin and the International Byways of Money"]

[Text] The gala dinner at the castle-hotel Gehrhus marked the last appearance of the guest of honor from the ranks of East Berlin's party high society. Dining on Tournedos Rossini with goose liver parfait and Coteaux Champenois, premier cru, Prof Friedrich ("Fritz") Karl Kaul, the SED's senior legal counsel, was singing the praises of Sweden as though he were getting ready to retire there. But 4 weeks after that birthday party of an old student friend of his in West Berlin's posh Grunewald section Kaul died at the age of 75 and at his graveside in East Berlin, he was eulogized by SED Politburo member Erich Mueckenberger for his tireless labors on behalf of the revolutionary communist movement.

Mueckenberger did not exaggerate. The fact is that this confidant of the SED leadership who died in 1981 still nominally occupies a seat on the board of a Swedish firm tied to the interests of the East German unity party. What is it that makes this dead lawyer irreplaceable in an earthbound capitalist enterprise ?

The Swedish firm which still lists Fritz Kaul as a member of the board in 1983 claims to be part of the fishing industry. And its name is Svenska Vaestfisk AB [Swedish West Fish Export Co]. But a look in the commercial register shows what the secret mission was which the lawyer—who was respected by friend and foe alike—apparently was fulfilling in the gray area of communist subversive activities. DIE WELT has learned that the supposed fish export firm in Goteborg is the northern pillar of a convoluted finance and real estate operation of the SED.

Other elements of the operation are firms in Sweden, Luxembourg and Switzerland as well as West Berlin. Using these convoluted byways, the SED administers real estate and conducts discreet financial operations wherever Moscow and East Berlin are in search of influence. Recently, most of the talk has centered on "financial help" for media operations in Western countries. This would seem to be the purpose of the secretive operations of the Association for the Promotion of Press and Publications (GfPV) in Luxembourg.

The core of the operation is made up of the following interlocking enterprises:

- ORVAG Co, Switzerland, Baar (Canton Zug)
- Svenska Vaestfisk Export AB, Goteborg, an ORVAG subsidiary and owner of the West Berlin lot on which the communist printing plant stands.
- GfPV, Luxembourg, an ORVAG subsidiary.
- Zeitungsdienst Berlin Verlags- und Druckereigesellschaft, West Berlin [Berlin News Service Publishing and Printing Co] owned by GfPV, the Luxembourg ORVAG subsidiary.
- Druckhaus Norden GmbH, West Berlin [Norden Printing Co] also owned by GfPV.

The Norden printing plant is responsible for publishing and printing the newspaper DIE WAHRHEIT [Truth], the organ of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin (SEW), an offshoot of East Berlin's SED. The lot once again is owned by the Swedish fish export firm which still lists deceased lawyer Kaul as one of three members of its board of directors.

The interlocking structure began to be built in earnest when the Wall was built in 1961. On 22 June 1962, Kaul was in a position to report that he had landed a coup in that an East Berlin "puppet" had been able to transport DM 600,000 to West Berlin in his briefcase. That completed the acquisition of the up to then private West Berlin printing establishment of Hentschel, Heidrich and Co by the communists before the West Berlin media could sound the alarm. The Senate under then Lord Mayor Willy Brandt (SPD) and the ministry for all-German affairs under Minister Ernst Lemmer (CDU) were accused by BERLINER MORGENPOST of foot-dragging and indecisiveness. "The baby has fallen in the well," said DER TAGESSPIEGEL in commenting on the acquisition of a first publishing and printing operation of their own in West Berlin by the communists.

One of the quiet operators was a professional whom the Soviets had picked in 1945 to rebuild the publishing and printing business. Master typesetter Karl Troeder, a longtime communist, was first selected to run the printing plant of TAEGLICHE RUNDSCHAU, the official newspaper of Soviet military government (SMA) in the occupied German capital. When that newspaper ceased publication, the SEW started putting out DIE WAHRHEIT. Troeder then became general manager of the Norden printing plant which was acquired in 1962 and of Zeitungsdienst Berlin—also a private publishing operation. Troeder also figured as a partner in both firms.

Now to the next stage. On 20 January 1982, a Luxembourg CPA named Jean Paul Molitor appeared at the office of a West Berlin lawyer and notary (whose name is known to the editors). 54 year-old Molitor identified himself as the plenipotentiary of the Swiss firm of ORVAG Co—which also manages the

Association for the Promotion of Press and Publications (GfPV). The commercial register of the Luxembourg district court lists the address of GfPV as Luxembourg City, 1 Rue Phillippe II—which also happens to be the address of Jean Paul Molitor.

The Berlin notary registered the sale of Karl Troeder's shares in Zeitungs-dienst Berlin Verlags- und Druckerei GmbH worth DM 20,000 at a nominal value of DM 20,000 to GfPV. The record shows that Molitor then said that GfPV had become sole owner of Zeitungs-dienst Berlin as a result. Then there was a surprise. The capital stock of DM 20,000 was raised by DM 1,480,000 to DM 1,500,000. A capital increase of this magnitude should not really have gone by unnoticed but the fact was that neither the politicians, nor the economists in Berlin paid much attention to it.

The new owner of Zeitungs-dienst Berlin turned out to be a 100 percent owned subsidiary of ORVAG Co of Switzerland. In its present legal form, GfPV was established in Luxembourg in 1977. The capital stock of 100,000 Luxembourg francs was divided into ten shares of 10,000 francs each with ORVAG and Vaestfisk assuming five shares each. One also needs to know that ORVAG owns 90 percent of Vaestfisk and in effect has control over that firm. More about the Swedish firm later.

It was learned upon inquiry that GfPV has no employees at present; it owns no property and the Rue Phillippe II address merely serves as the official seat of the firm. It has no known banking affiliation and may thus be referred to as a "mailbox operation."

There was talk as long ago as 1982, according to the NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE, that none other than SED treasurer Karl Raabe is the man behind GfPV. Raabe, an old-time communist, who returned from Soviet exile as part of the "Ul-bricht Group" at the end of the war, took over the finance and party enterprises department of the SED central committee in 1950. Raabe is considered a professional. In the twenties, he received training as a banker at Dresdner Bank and in 1927 joined the communist party (KPD). At the bank, he published the communist employees newspaper ROTE BILANZ [Red Balance Sheet]. In 1932, he joined the staff of ROTE FAHNE [Red Flag] and the international workers publishing house. The party did not let him go until age 77 when he was awarded the Golden Order of Merit of the Fatherland. His longtime deputy Heinz Wilderhain was named as his successor as head of the party finance department. But the SED still meant to avail itself of old-timer Raabe's services and even after he retired his contacts in Switzerland were not severed.

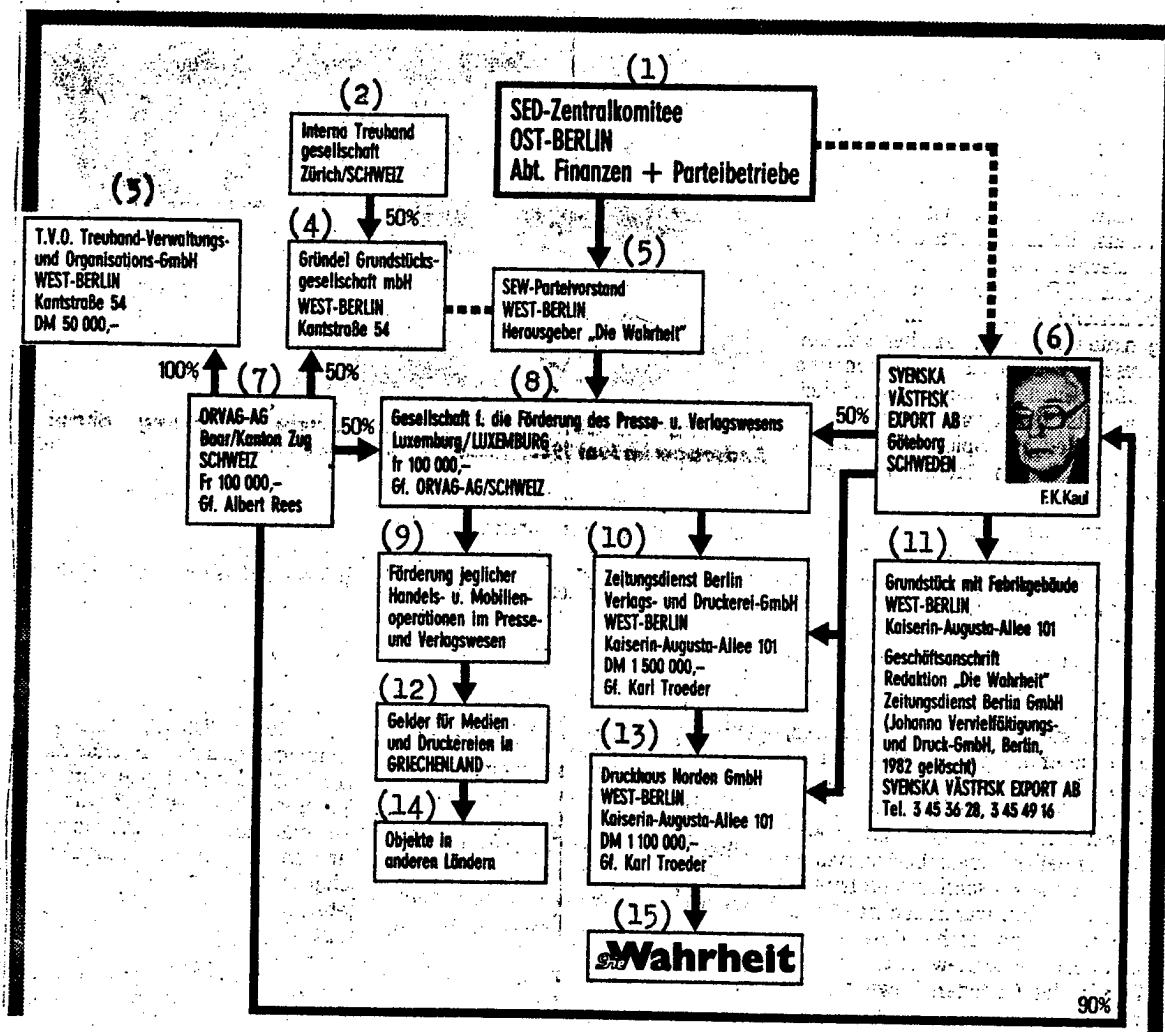
The Swiss parent operation ORVAG is headed by former Major Albert Rees, a shrewd businessman. In 1983, the 59 year-old native of Zurich was on the board of 26 more companies. ORVAG increased its capital stock too—from 100,000 to 500,000 francs. The firm says that it is concerned with the administration of and partnership in commercial, manufacturing and other

business ventures including the investment and management of capital assets. The firm may also purchase and sell real estate inside the country and abroad and it may conduct all types of business apt to promote the achievement and furtherance of its aims—whatever that means.

The West Berlin commercial register lists ORVAG as the sole owner of Treuhand-Verwaltungs- und Organisations GmbH [Fiduciary Management and Organization Co] whose capital is DM 50,000 and whose address is given as Kantstrasse 54 in West Berlin. The manager of the firm is 36 year-old bachelor of commerce Werner Girke who is also listed as executive secretary of Gruendel Grundstuecksgesellschaft mit beschraenkter Haftung [Gruendel Real Estate Ltd], also headquartered at the Kantstrasse address. Once again, ORVAG figures as a partner with a capital of DM 250,000 in addition to Interna Treuhandgesellschaft [Interna Fiduciary Co] of Zurich. The commercial register lists an Interna Treuhandgesellschaft at 11 Marktgassee in Baar (Canton Zug) which happens to be the same address as that of ORVAG. And Gruendel Real Estate Ltd, the firm owned by the two Swiss firms, figures as the owner of the house located at 165 Wilmersdorfer Strasse in West Berlin's borough of Charlottenburg. And that is the address of SEW headquarters.

At the entrance to the WAHRHEIT printing plant at 101 Kaiserin-Augusta-Allee in Berlin-Moabit there is no sign which indicates Swedish ownership of the building; Vaestfisk is merely listed in the telephone book. Upon inquiry in Goteborg, we were told that the firm has not engaged in any business activity and as of 1982 did not employ anyone. The shares of the corporation were said to be owned by the three board members: Hans Gunnar Heymann, Allan Kullberg and Fritz Karl Kaul. But the fact that a dead shareholder has no way of disposing over the capital is not the only strange thing about this firm.

Investigation into the activities of the firm has turned up no detrimental information concerning SED treasurer Heinz Wildenhain or the latter's spry predecessor, Karl Raabe. To get through passport and customs controls rapidly and without difficulty, they carry papers which an average citizen of the GDR cannot obtain. The two high-ranking SED functionaries both have diplomatic passports.



**Key:**

1. SED Central Committee, East Berlin. Finance and Party Enterprises
2. Interna Fiduciary Co, Zurich, Switzerland
3. Fiduciary Management & Organization Co
4. Gruendel Real Estate Ltd
5. SEW Executive Committee, West Berlin; publisher of DIE WAHRHEIT
6. Swedish West Fish Export Co
7. ORVAG Co
8. ORVAG-owned Association for Promotion of Press and Publications
9. Support for commercial and real estate activities in the press and publication business
10. Berlin News Service Publishing and Printing Co
11. Lot plus factory building at 101 Kaiserin-Augusta-Allee. Business address of DIE WAHRHEIT editorial offices/Berlin News Service Co. (Joanna Reproduction and Printing Co, Berlin stricken from register in 1982).

12. Funds for media and printing plants in Greece
13. Norden Printing Co.
14. Real estate in other countries
15. DIE WAHRHEIT ["Truth"]

9478

CSO: 2300/338

COMBINE MANAGERS STATE PRODUCTION GOALS TO HONECKER

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10-11 Mar 84 pp 1-2

/Article datelined Leipzig: "Tactical Objective of the Kombinats: The Greatest Output to Date in the GDR's 35th Year"

/Text/ To achieve in the GDR's 35th year the hitherto greatest output in the history of our workers-and-farmers state--that was the obligation assumed in Leipzig last Friday by the combines of industry, the construction industry, the transportation and communication system as well as bezirk administered industry. In a letter addressed to Erich Honecker, SED CC general secretary and chairman of the GDR Council of State, the attendants at the 2-day seminar of the SED CC with the general directors of the combines and CC party organizers proclaim their firm resolution to all-round fulfill and purposefully exceed the 1984 economic plan. They are guided by the conviction that political stability, economic dynamism and the smooth flowing continued pursuit of the unity of economic and social policy for the welfare of the people is crucial for our country's contribution to the preservation of peace. They reaffirm their resolution to take another step toward the implementation of our party's economic strategy, as called for in the decisions of the Seventh SED CC Plenum, and to achieve greater efficiency by new technologies and new products. "We honor the 35th anniversary by benefiting ourselves and our just cause. We are loyally committed to the GDR. We strengthen it so that our lives may be richer and better."

More reserves for a steeper rise in economic capacity were disclosed during the extensive exchange of experiences and concrete performance comparisons.

Guenter Mittag, Politburo member and SED CC secretary, offered the concluding address at the seminar. He appreciated the obligations assumed as the reflection of firm and unshakable confidence in the policy of the SED and its Central Committee. Only socialism and its ongoing consolidation, he said, provides guarantees enabling us to check the imperialist course, set on the arms race and confrontation, and to preserve peace. "At the Tenth Party Congress, our party pointed in the right direction by its resolution on the objectives decided upon for the implementation of the main task in its unity of economy and social policy," Guenter Mittag stated. "The economic strategy for the 1980's is the battle plan for accomplishing the necessary rise in output even--and precisely--in the current tense international situation."

The text of the letter to Erich Honecker, signed by the attendants at the seminar, runs as follows:

Dear Comrade Erich Honecker!

To the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and you, its general secretary, this seminar obligates itself in the GDR's 35th year to accomplish the greatest output to date in the history of our workers-and-farmers power,

We have consistently taken our cue from the orientations you provided at the Seventh SED CC Plenum and the Berlin Bezirk delegate conference on the realization of the party's economic strategy in the 1980's. We assure you, Comrade Erich Honecker, that the wealth of ideas, the extensive analysis and far-ranging and realistic objectives in your fundamental explanations are the yardstick by which we measure our contribution to the all-round strengthening of our socialist fatherland and the preservation of peace. Our discussions were characterized by the awareness that political stability, economic dynamism and the smooth flowing continued pursuit of the unity of economic and social policy for the welfare of the people is crucial for our country's contribution to the preservation of peace.

In our daily labors we learn to appreciate the mobilizing effects of the excellent policies of our party and its Central Committee with your well proven leadership. It is the foundation of the unshakable confidence in the party shared by all citizens of our country.

When tackling the assignments allocated us by the party, we start from the sure assumption that we are celebrating the GDR's 35th anniversary at a time when socialism on German soil is more solid and stronger than ever.

The results of our economic development, the fulfillment of the obligations we assumed last year for exceeding the goals of the economic plan and the satisfactory start of the 1984 plan year emphatically underline your statement at the Seventh CC Plenum, that the GDR, its intellectual potential and material resources are capable of that rise in output that is demanded of us now and will be so in future.

We consider it our priority task increasingly better to utilize the enormous benefits and motive forces of socialism as the source of creativity of our country's working people. We thereby create the prerequisites for energetically speeding up advances in efficiency and meeting the foreign trade challenges.

By the measures on the perfection of management, planning and economic accounting, decided by the Tenth SED Congress, the party provided us with a crucial tool for significantly raising the operational efficiency of our socialist planned economy. Combines and enterprises are offered new opportunities even more quickly to respond to the development of the productive forces, changes in demand and the new criteria of intensification.

As per the Seventh CC Plenum decisions, we reaffirm our intention to take another step forward toward the implementation of our party's economic strategy and, by new technologies and new products, achieve greater efficiency. We rely on the experience that the GDR has accomplished its economic advances mainly because it has learned more efficiently to manage its domestic resources.



When tackling the tasks ahead, we always assume that our workers-and-farmers state is backing the right side. It maintains close friendship with Lenin's country and is firmly rooted in the community of the socialist countries. Relying on the fighting experience of communists and the willingness to serve of the more than 3 million workers, scientists, engineers and managers in our combines, we therefore renew our earlier promise to you, at a time of violent unrest to do everything possible to further strengthen socialism in the GDR.

We know that we make prevail the meaning of socialism only by growth and the greatest possible efficiency. That is why we are obligating ourselves in 1984 by 1 percent to exceed the planned rise in productivity.

Led by the party organizations, we and our collectives--in close cooperation with the labor unions and the FDJ--will create the prerequisites by extensive intensification of production, the improved economic utilization of science and technology and the more rational use of the available funds to produce goods worth M3 billion in excess of the plan for the supply of the population and for exports.

We assume the obligation by the comprehensive improvement of the cost/profit ratio as our contribution to the growth of the national income, in all combines

-- To exceed the planned net output by M1,372 million,

-- Earn M555 additional net profits over and above the plan,

-- Keep prime costs lower by M50 million than planned.

consonant with the orientation stressed at the Seventh CC Plenum to extensively utilize domestic raw materials and achieve a qualitatively new stage of refined processing, we will provide the necessary conditions in our combines in order in 1984 (among others)

-- To additionally produce 5.4 million tons of raw brown coal, 470,000 tons brown coal briquettes, and 16,000 tons of brown coal high temperature coke,

-- Make available 251 million cubic meters of city gas over and above the plan,

-- Produce 13,000 extra plan tons of cold rolled strip,

-- Produce 1,135 additional tons of viscose fibers,

-- Exceed the production targets

for truck tires by 25,000

for conveyor belts by 20,000 square meters

for cut lumber by 14,700 cubic meters

for cement clinker by 80,000 tons

for chipboard by 156,000 square meters.

Based on the appreciation that consumer goods represent a sector intersected by the entire spectrum of our economic policy's demands, we will produce M1 billion consumer goods in excess of the plan. This includes:

- 790,000 items of domestic linen
- 200,000 pairs of shoes
- 314,000 square meters of textile floor covering
- Furniture and upholstery to the value of M30.6 million
- Toys to the value of M13.2 million
- 25,000 quartz watches.

Increasingly involved in these additional supplies for the public are combines that mainly manufacture means of production.

The construction industry will work for an additional net production in the amount of M230 million. In particular, and as our contribution to the further improvement of public housing standards in excess of the plan, we intend to make available new residential buildings and modernize apartments so that--for the first time ever--we will provide 200,000 newly constructed and modernized housing units in 1 year.

To promote the appropriate facilities in Berlin, the GDR capital, we will create the necessary prerequisites this year to enable housing construction to be significantly speeded up from 1985 on.

As functionaries authorized by the party, we will commit our entire strength to the mobilization of the tremendous asset of experienced cadres available in the combines in order resolutely and with a lot of initiative to implement our good and proven policy. We will provide the necessary fighting stance in all combines in order by the utilization of the benefits of socialism to develop the necessary reserves for the dynamic growth of output. We challenge ourselves to achieve two additional days' output by the 35th anniversary of our republic.

The Seventh CC Plenum resolutions and your important speech at the bezirk delegate conference in Berlin will serve us as the yardstick for our efforts. It is imperative

- To continue raising output while ensuring a drop (in absolute terms) of energy, raw materials and materials consumption,
- Increase the speed of growth of labor productivity and, in particular, by the better use of the production equipment in terms of man hours improve labor productivity faster than basic asset equipment,
- More rapidly increase profits, especially with regard to exports, than the costs of science and technology,
- Decisively improve in each combine and enterprise the cost/profit ratio by lowering production consumption and costs.

The struggle for the largest profits will continue to be firmly linked to the planned improvement of working and living conditions.

We will conscientiously meet the obligations arising for the GDR from the progressive interlacing of our country's economy with that of the USSR and from the deepening of socialist economic integration with the CEMA countries.

The preparation and staging of the 35th GDR anniversary send out strong impulses to the life in our country, the initiative and creativity of the people; they are the crucial prerequisites for the accomplishment of our challenging objectives.

We honor the 35th anniversary by benefiting ourselves and our just cause.

We are loyally committed to the GDR. We strengthen it so that our lives may be richer and better.

We are ready to comply with every party assignment.

Everything for our socialist fatherland, everything for peace.

11698

CSO: 2300/347

## LEADING JURIST'S STATEMENT ON COURTS' ECONOMIC, POLITICAL ROLE

East Berlin PRESSE INFORMATIONEN in German No 28, 6 Mar 84 p 2

[Article by Dr Heinrich Toeplitz, president of the GDR supreme court: "The Activity of the Courts Influenced by Advancing Socialist Development"]

[Text] In implementation of the objective to carry on the main task policy with success, as corroborated by the seventh SED Central Committee session, the courts also have to make a responsible contribution. Everywhere, getting set for electing kreis and city district court directors, judges and lay judges and the members of the arbitration commissions, part and parcel of the local people's representations elections, affords an opportunity to reinforce the impulses needed for it. That is also voiced in the election appeal by the National Council of the National Front of the GDR. Above all, we have to reinforce the close ties the courts have with the working people and with the local people's representations and their deputies.

Courts know how important their jurisdictional contribution is to the implementation of our economic and social policy and the further development of socialist social relations. To that they also apply their rich experience from extensively advising the citizens in legal matters.

Ensuring our economic concerns, especially the courts' contributions to containing fires, accidents and economic damage, received central attention at the seventh plenary session of the supreme court of the GDR, which was held on 15 December 1983. One matter that was discussed was how the courts could get more involved in crime prevention, such as in fire prevention and labor accident protection, in resolutely helping enforce socialist legality as an inseparable element of management activity.

### Encouraging the Citizens' Active Participation

Jurisdictional organs have a lot of things to do in the field of socialist labor law. They are mainly aimed at making more efficient use of the public labor capacity, ensuring order, safety and discipline, protecting socialist property, and seeing to it that the working people's creative abilities and initiatives increasingly expand. In enforcing the innovator law, the courts are certain that the innovators' initiatives must increasingly be directed at socialist rationalization, the trimming of production consumption and the improvement of working and living conditions, where they must become ever more effective.

The courts also help in the handling of the housing policy tasks. Together with other organs they are making a contribution to promoting the tenants' activities in taking care of and improving their apartments, community facilities and out-sides. They also see to it that in the citizens' conviviality in residential areas socialist relations increasingly develop and prevail. Positive trends are seen in concluding apartment exchange contracts to make a more effective use of housing available and better satisfy the citizens' housing needs. Jurisdiction there mainly has the task to help secure the obligations resulting from apartment exchange contracts or settle legal problems arising among citizens.

Another important public concern is promoting high-grade consumer goods production. The organs of justice are making a specific contribution to it in cooperation with other official organs, the permanent people's representation commissions, trade enterprises and other official and public forces. This pertains in particular to enforcing the warranty right; it supports the efforts on behalf of a high grade of products. As in all other fields, the courts here too, apart from their jurisdiction, include legal information and the processing of petitions in their area of responsibility so they can clarify problems or give other organs information for that purpose.

#### Socialist Legal Order Is a Guide to Action

Among the jobs that are crucial for the courts solving their tasks is ever better qualifying the working people to handle their legal problems themselves, possibly without litigation. Good bases for that are found in the systematic improvement of the legal order itself, i.e. in setting up such legal regulations as those of the civil code and the code of civil procedure. Other bases are, e.g., documents to ensure a uniform application of law. A recent example, published in the gazette, is the supreme court plenum guideline of 27 October 1983 on jurisdiction for the cancellation of property held in common between marital partners after their divorce. That makes it easier for citizens to settle such problems in their own responsibility.

In accordance with the obligations assumed in honor of the 35th anniversary of the founding of the GDR, the associates of the juridical organs aim all their activities at the continued and resolute implementation of the 10th SED Congress resolutions. At the top of it is their contribution at all times to the consolidation of the socialist political and social order, to enhanced law security, and to strengthening the relationship of confidence between the citizens and their state.

This is the spirit in which legal conflicts are thoroughly and reliably settled. Reviews undertaken on suggestions from citizens and in the supreme court's exercise of its management activity according to plan demonstrate good and stable results from court activity both in their jurisdiction and in their legal educational efforts in prevention.

5885

CSO: 2300/352

INTENTIONAL OBSTACLES BESET INNER-GERMAN SPORTS COMPETITION

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 5 Dec 83 p 196

[Article: "Nothing Forgotten--GDR Attempts to Cut Down on German-German Sports Events"]

[Text] At the banquet following the game against Tura Melle, the hosts of West Leipzig Locomotive Team had spaced the tables far apart to form a large "U." The women volleyball players spontaneously made a "T" out of them so that the athletes from East and West Germany could get close enough to speak to each other.

GDR sports leaders fear that contacts and conversations with athletes from the capitalist camp are a preliminary stage of defection to the class enemy. They consequently attempt to keep participants in grudgingly tolerated organized events across the German-German border as far apart as possible--with less and less success.

For the athletes and their team sponsors have developed clever ways of side-tracking the uninvited STASI [State Security Service] watchdogs--without whom no all-German ball game is held. After GDR officials end the banquet, usually by 2300 hours at the latest, teams from the two Germanies meet at a later celebration without any guards. Athletes continue friendships formed during German-German competition by mail--usually using cover addresses.

A GDR team supervisor expressed his thanks to his West German hosts by mail for a competition visit, saying that after "a beautiful experience, I am hardly able to assimilate all these impressions--but I will remember everything." He found it particularly difficult to "convey the mood of our saying goodbye" to friends and relatives. In the meantime, there is also pressure from the rank and file in the GDR: local clubs try hard to get on the German-German schedule of events.

The volleyball team of Strassfurth Electronics managed to do so, as GDR athletes explained to their guests from the Muenster USC [University Sports Club], because a son of GDR sports chief Manfred Ewald had been trained at the enterprise club's sponsoring firm and had interceded on behalf of the sports enthusiasts.

"We determine the scope and extent of sporting events," Ewald announced during negotiations for German-German sporting events, which led to an initial agreement in 1974. Since then, the GDR's German Gymnastics and Sports Federation (DTSB) and the FRG's German Sports League (DSB) negotiate a calendar of events annually.

But more than 60 to 80 opportunities for competition annually are not approved by the GDR. And the situation will also remain the same in the obstacle course for obtaining sports dates in 1984 even though the DSB has reported 360 requests for matches. But the GDR considers exchange with socialist brother countries to be the "core of international activity," as reported by East Berlin's SPORTECHO.

However, the FRG is the GDR's biggest partner outside of the socialist camp. The DSB has also agreed that at least one West Berlin association may participate in German-German competition every year. The sports exchange between the two German states is also opening up the border to younger GDR citizens, who could otherwise cross it only as pensioners.

The sports calendar also includes international competition, such as GDR participation in Kiel's Yachting Week and Lower Saxony's amateur cyclists' tour. The GDR is most eager to challenge West German competition at the Olympic level, especially when its chances are better than ever.

On the other hand, for example, the Federal League club VfB Stuttgart wanted to cancel the friendship soccer match scheduled against Berlin Dynamics, one of the most attractive East Bloc teams, for lack of interest. The match took place: before 5,900 spectators. "Our opponent spoke German, we spoke German," international player Karl-Heinz Foerster reported afterwards, "but we said nothing to each other." There was also no appetite for a joint banquet in this instance.

On the other hand, in matches in the East Bloc the FRG's teams find no fans more loyal than young GDR citizens, who root for them in Budapest and Prague as well. When Werder Bremen went to Leipzig, 2,000 GDR fans besieged the Astoria Hotel in hopes of getting autographs.

Actual meetings take place almost exclusively among players of lesser teams, who still enjoy the match. An FRG team will then even sometimes easily be defeated in order to increase the chances of a rematch.

"What matters here is not big numbers," FDP parliamentary group leader Wolfgang Mischnick explained, "but rather the individual example." The badminton collective of Dresden Locomotive was put on the schedule after SED chief Erich Honecker was asked at the Leipzig Fair for a date for the sports enthusiasts from the Neunkirche district of Wiebelskirchen, Honecker's birthplace.

GDR watchdogs, who also watch to see that protocol is strictly observed, also take advantage of every opportunity to nip sports idylls in the bud. They are bothered by plates with the Berlin Olympic Stadium, "because they recall the 1936 Nazi Olympics," and demand maximum isolation of accommodations.

Because the program announced an "inner-German" competition, the GDR delegation leader recently threatened to cancel the boxing match between Muelheim Ringfrei and the Wismut Gera BC [Boxing Club]. The Muelheim organizers withdrew the program and were then allowed to be walloped 20 to 0.

12580

CSO: 2300/191



SCHOLAR ASSERTS WORKERS' SATISFACTION SPURS PERFORMANCE

East Berlin DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE in German Vol 32 No 1, Jan 84  
(signed to press 1 Nov 83) pp 1-10

[Article by Karl-Heinz Thieme, member of the Institute for Marxist-Leninist Philosophy of the SED Central Committee Academy for Social Sciences: "Interests and Moral Motivators in the Workers' Efforts to Achieve Efficiency"]

[Text] The working people's will to perform, as practical experience and sociological surveys confirm, perceptibly affects the rate of economic performance improvement. That becomes especially apparent from the performance comparisons being used more now by the SED central committee and bezirk and kreis managements.<sup>1</sup> For one thing they show how great the reserves are for improving labor quality and efficiency by generalizing optimum achievements and experiences. Then they also show that the will to perform and the commitment of the work collectives and of individual workers determine whether and how objective possibilities for improving labor quality and efficiency are in fact used. A researcher's will to perform thus greatly determines how efficiently the greater material-technical wherewithal of the research collective is used and the subjective performance capacity is exploited. It is typical in particular of R&D that there may be fairly large differences between optimum and average performance, between the individual performance capacity and the performances achieved in fact.<sup>2</sup> Reducing such differences can contribute significantly to the requisite intensification of scientific-technical work.

Generalizing optimum achievements thus presupposes not only to find out what the experiences involved were, but also a generalization of the great dedication right there. A purposeful management of these processes by the party and trade union organizations calls for understanding the conditions and driving forces motivating the working people for high achievements and channeling their dedication toward major intensification priorities. To analyze those driving forces more thoroughly still and elaborate applicable solution propositions so they can still more effectively be used for the needed performance improvement--that is one of the tasks the 10th SED Congress emphatically assigned to the social scientists.

I

In the outcome of long years of discussion, important basic theoretical and methodological positions have been formulated to understand the driving forces

in socialist society.<sup>4</sup> With it, concrete aspects in motivational problems have been explained, such as the dialectical interaction between individual and society as an impulse in social development<sup>5</sup> and the emotional impulses in the conduct of personalities.<sup>6</sup> Embedded in these various efforts is the further investigation into the nature and function of moral impulses in the conduct by the working people, especially their striving for high achievements, through Marxist-Leninist ethics. In this, for ideologically and theoretically understanding performance, we follow the positions developed by H. Schliwa, expressing and setting down the substance expansion of the performance concept above and beyond its economic definition.<sup>7</sup> In the analysis of the impulses behind striving for achievements we nevertheless concentrate on the sector of material production and of R&D because there important decisions are made that are of overall social significance.

As a preliminary summary of publications at hand<sup>8</sup> and the point of departure for further considerations, we would like to bring up for discussion the following theoretical positions on the nature and function of moral impulses:

First: Relying on the general concept of impulse,<sup>9</sup> we understand as moral impulses all those moral phenomena that move, activate and stimulate people's actions and conduct, channel them in a specific direction, and thereby contribute to changes in the life of socialist society, in the life of the collectives, and in the personality development of the individual members of society. Such changes can both encourage or block further advances in socialist society and in personality development, depending on the direction in which moral impulses propel actions and the kind of activities they motivate for. Here then the moral motives become effective directly as impulses for action and conduct. They determine why concrete actions are taken. They set down the socially and personally significant goal sought by means of these actions.<sup>10</sup> Moral norms and values, moral relations and stimuli, on the other hand, exercise their function as impulse only indirectly, through a subjective development and effect of concrete moral motives or a certain web of motives, of specific motivation for some conduct.

Second: Moral norms and values, relations and motives are secondary, derived impulses for human action. Their directive, mobilizing and orienting force and effect ultimately stem from their substantiation through the objective interests of socialist society and its individual members. The objective interests of socialist society, of the classes, collectives and individuals, play a key role within the totality of the impulses for action. They form the central chain link negotiating the connection between the objective social conditions and relations and the human acts, the crucial link for transforming them into motivations of acting men.<sup>11</sup>

Third: Moral impulses orient and motivate the individuals' attitudes toward society, the collectives, their fellowmen, and toward themselves. Such conduct orientation always takes place within the real field of tension among social, collective and personal interests. The objective possibility for these interests to coincide grows out of the socialist property and power relations. Such a conformity, however, is no simple, rigid identity, given once and for all, of social,

collective, and personal interests. Rather, it must always again be produced and reinforced under the dynamically changing social conditions. "The continuing creation, consolidation and development of harmony between social, collective and individual interests is the fundamental pattern for the movement of the qualitatively new contradictions in socialism and simultaneously the path along which these propel social progress."<sup>12</sup> In this process, moral values and norms, relations and motives play a significant, in many cases an irreplaceable, role. Based on our unified economic and social policies, on the socialist performance principle and on democratic centralism, moral impulses bring a lasting influence to bear on how the objective possibilities of combining through action the social, collective and personal interests with one another are in fact used.

Fourth: Moral norms and values, relations and motives function in specific ways and means as impulses in men's social activities. Such specific traits in the effect of moral impulses are, for one thing, their being omnipresent in all sectors of men's public activities, from their labor via their political activities all the way to their shaping their most intimate relations. Secondly, it is due to the fact that moral impulses exercise their effect primarily by evaluating the conduct of classes, social groups and individuals and of social events and connections, as good or evil, just or unjust, responsible or irresponsible.<sup>13</sup> Thirdly, the effectiveness of moral impulses always relates to the free choice and option among alternate modes of behavior. They exercise their guiding and mobilizing effect through a conscious individual decision for or against possible, socially recommended or required modes of behavior.<sup>14</sup>

This provides of course only some general points of departure for further examining the nature and function of moral impulses. In a concrete analysis of the moral impulses in the working people's striving for performance, questions and problems show up at every step that compel us to check these points of departure and make them more concrete.

## II

In examining the advantages and impulses of socialist society,<sup>15</sup> we have run into many different motives for seeking high achievements. Many of the working people we queried want to do good work because then they make good money, their work is interesting and varied, good work is a matter of honor to them, by doing good work they gain their colleagues' respect, and they want to contribute personally to the implementation of our state's economic and social policy and to the strengthening of the peace forces in the international class conflict. Looking at these and similar motives for striving after achievement, from the way we have pitched our topic, the following question arises: Which of those motives are among the moral impulses for action? By which criteria can we select out of the totality of motivations for striving after achievement those that are specifically moral? There is not likely to be much disagreement if we say that we are dealing with a moral motive when high achievements are performed because that is a matter of honor. Nevertheless it is still necessary to examine more thoroughly and with more discrimination than we have done in the past what moral ideas and sentiments the working people actually express by that motive, and put into effect, in their relations to others and to themselves.

Equally persuasive seems to be that we are not dealing with a moral but rather with an economic motive when someone says he does good work to make good money. But then there comes a problem at once, as soon as we take into account that making good money for most of our fellow-citizens is no end in itself but imperative for raising his own family's material and cultural standard of living, for ensuring the satisfaction of all family members' essential material and cultural needs and creating specific conditions for their personality development. Is such a concern for the family's well-being, which for most people stands behind his seeking to make good money, not also a moral motive for conduct?

Then also, take the desire to make a personal contribution, through high efforts, to strengthening the peace forces in the international class conflict. That cannot be so easily classified either. At the first glance, there seems to be a political motive behind it. Looked at more closely, it becomes clear it also has moral content. Through the desire to make a personal contribution to the preservation of peace through high working efforts and other public activities, the working people carry out the first and foremost political and moral demand made on everyone and conform to their responsibility deliberately and voluntarily. "For peace is the decisive foundation for solving all other social problems."<sup>16</sup> Most of them let themselves be guided there by the conviction that they are acting in their own interest, the interest of their family and children, as well as in the interest of the workers class, of all peace-loving humanity and the future generations.

Now let us look at the motive of wanting to do good work because the work is interesting and varied. This motive, when more closely looked at, also is closely tied up with moral motivations for action. Work, to a growing number of working people, is becoming an ever more important field for their personality development, a testing ground for perfecting their physical and mental capacities, their knowledge, skills, discipline and creativity. Interesting and varied work making many different physical and intellectual demands offers much more favorable opportunities for it, of course, than does monotonous, humdrum activity. On that many working people base their personal appreciation for interesting, demanding and diversified labor. That is closely connected with seeking approval for oneself and the perfecting of one's personality. The enriching and perfecting of personality, however, is an essential effect and target direction for moral impulses in socialist society as such. Many Marxist authors have taken that point of view. T. Hahn, for example, regards as the subjective moral impulses having the greatest effect on the economic, political and cultural process "necessarily those moral views, motives and relations that are expressive of and effective as the enriching and perfecting of human personality."<sup>17</sup> This focus and objective of moral impulses, as T. Hahn's utterances explain, should not be seen as an alternative or, less, a contrast to orienting the individual's actions to the basic interests of society, but they necessarily complement and reinforce them. Only through the enrichment of the social relations by so diversified a development of needs and interests, knowledge and skills, can a personality become a high-level active subject of social developmental processes and contribute through own deeds to social progress.

The impression might arise that this way, through a closer analysis, all motives in striving for achievements we have run into will "dissolve" into moral motives.

That is of course not so. Rather, what becomes apparent is that motives economic or political in substance also always have some moral substance or have close rapport with moral motives. Political and economic motives and moral motives reciprocally determine each other in orienting toward action and conduct, mediate and complement each other in their directional and activating effects. They mutually presuppose each other while they cannot substitute for each other.

Why is that so? When the working people, objectively and more and more also subjectively, seek high achievements, they deliberately relate to the interests of the social total entity, to the interests and tasks of the collective, and to the well-being of their family. At the same time, their striving for high achievements propels to a definite degree the development of their knowledge and skills, their physical and mental capacities, their discipline and creativeness. In other words: Performance motivation aims not only at specific materially embodied labor results, at a specific quality and efficiency of labor. It also amounts to a specific quality in the personality's social attitude toward the social whole, the work collective, his fellow-men and himself. As a social attitude, however, performance motivation always also is morally motivated. The moral motives in performance motivation then mentally anticipate the significance of the great personal dedication to the good of all socialist society, to the development of the collective, to the well-being of the family, and to the development and enrichment of one's own personality.

The moral motives in performance motivation generally disclose essential traits of the moral impulses in socialist society. They express man's societal nature which develops on a new socioeconomic basis in socialism through the socialization of production. This expresses the individual's membership in the community of associated producers providing for his existence as a proprietor of the public means of production and the one who exercises the power. Only as a member of this society and through concerted action with other working people an individual can act and prove himself as a proprietor and can relate to the embodied production conditions as belonging to him, as preconditions for his own existence and development.<sup>18</sup> Along with that, moral impulses are elements of an active and aware reproduction of this social bond of the individual, elements of the spreading wealth of his social relations, of his societal character in socialism. But that is only one side of their substantive concreteness and effective thrust. With the unfolding of the individual's wealth of social relations, his needs and interests, his mental wealth, his insights, abilities and skills, his personality features also unfold. This process always takes place in the individual members of socialist society in a particular, unmistakable and unique manner and is inseparable from each individual's developing his individuality.

A peculiarity of the moral value orientations, relations and motives in socialist society is that they, as an expression and element in the development of sociability, at the same time are an expression of this developmental tendency that determines and preconditions them and stands opposite to them. They furthermore are an expression of the uniqueness and irreplaceability, the dignity and integrity, the inherent value and finitude of the individual existence of each individual personality in socialist society. Moral impulses are an element of the conscious unfolding and active prevalence of the individuality of each

individual member of society. That is a specific expression of the contradictory relationship between individual and society in socialism, of the contradictory unity of social, collective and personal interests, from which necessarily arises an inherent tension in the moral relations, value orientations and motives, an inherent contradictoriness in socialist morality. That is an essential and necessary source for its energy and motivational effect.

### III

More recent sociological surveys have pointed out that the social and personal interests in the work and performance motivation of a large sector of the working people are working together and complement and reinforce each other. The authors of one study, entitled "What About Performance Motivation, Initiative, Creativeness?" arrived at this conclusion: "The personal material as well as moral interest in the outcome of labor combines with an orientation toward social concerns and with a gradual evolving of needs for productive, creative activity and self-acknowledgement through work."<sup>19</sup> The latest Soviet surveys justify the assumption that this combined effect of motives and not the prevalence of one motive over against others--the type of work versus the wages, or the social benefit versus the wages--is the norm, especially for workers who do substantive work.<sup>20</sup>

This functioning together, supplementing and reinforcement of motives coming out of social and personal interests, in labor and performance motivation, is an essentially subjective manifestation of the objectively attained conformity of social and personal interests in the process of the shaping of the developed socialist society. This working together of motives at the same time is an essential and necessary element for transforming them into performance motivation and, eventually, into high labor achievements. As the most important outcome of our surveys in this respect we may summarize it as follows: The working people's performance motivation is especially strong and stable when in their motivation a firm desire to make their own contribution to the implementation of social interests combines with motives that by and large grow out of personal interests, mainly the interest in the substance of labor, in personal gratification through labor, in social recognition and in adequate wages.

Practical experience and sociological surveys however also indicate that in some working people the social and personal in labor and performance motivation complement each other but inadequately. Among them, a personal interest in wages or in the type of work they do or in social recognition appear predominant as relatively isolated impulses of their work activity. In the strength and stability of its performance motivation that group clearly differs from the others. There one much more frequently runs into deficiencies in labor discipline, in the effective utilization of working hours, materials and energy, and in the quality of labor.

Strong impulses for action can of course also arise from personal interests. But the emphasis and intensity with which such working people direct their actions at conscientiously fulfilling social labor obligations, that depends on many external circumstances, such as the quality of material and moral inducements, the atmosphere in the work collective and other factors. A change in these circumstances, complications and aggravations of certain conditions in the work

activity, can relatively easily upset such a motivation that exclusively arises out of individual, personal interests. The further development of the working people's performance motivation thus involves two inseparably connected tasks: For one thing, it is a matter of strengthening the desire to perform their own effective contribution to enforcing essential social interests and requirements, mainly in rapidly boosting labor productivity, reducing specific material and energy consumption, and ensuring international competitiveness for our products. The second matter that counts is to shape and use the personal interests characterized more effectively than previously as impulses for performance motivation.

Under the aspect of our topic we are mainly interested in the question of the role moral impulses play in solving these tasks and in how they contribute to bringing about the objectively possible conformity of interests and their conversion into formative social activity, performance dedication and initiative. Dealing with this question extensively at this point is of course impossible. We mainly wish to refer to three effective thrusts of moral impulses in this process that call for further investigations:

First: Moral relations, value orientations and personality convictions greatly affect the extent to which social interests can become personal motivations for action. The common basic interests of the entire people in expanding and perfecting social production, in coping with scientific-technical progress, and in the all-round strengthening of the forces of peace and socialism in the worldwide class conflict are, objectively, also deeply personal interests by each and every member of society. On the scientific-technical level of production and its productivity and efficiency, and on the safeguarding of peace, after all, depend the prosperity, well-being, the physical existence, in fact, of each. This dependency is an essential aspect of the conformity of interests arising out of socialist property and power relations. It is becoming more prominent than ever, especially in view of the more complicated internal and external reproduction conditions in our economy and the intensification of the imperialist confrontation and arms buildup course. Yet even so, these basic social interests do not become directly or immediately effective as the individual workers' impulses for performance motivation. An essential and necessary mediator for it is the awareness and sense of personal responsibility for making these social interests prevail. This awareness and sense will mainly grow out of two inseparably interconnected sources: the personal identification with the fundamental social interests on the one side and the conviction that one's own work, one's own deeds for implementing these social interests, can truly affect the perfecting of social production and the safeguarding of peace, on the other.

Through the identification with fundamental social interests and the sense of awareness and responsibility, action becomes most directly oriented to social requirements. That is of special weight in view of the dynamics today with which the concrete content of these requirements and the conditions for fulfilling them change. Together with economic knowledge and insights, their sense of awareness and responsibility urges the working people to adapt their actions extensively, and out of their own initiative, to the altered requirements and orient themselves to them in practical terms. To that extent these moral impulses react most rapidly and sensitively to changes. They therefore

can in a sense fulfil a certain lead function in relation to economic and legal rules in providing motivation for action that cannot even be induced or enforced by those rules. Then, to be sure, one sometimes gets contradictions and conflicts between the action orientation growing out of that sense of responsibility and the trend in which certain economic and legal rules direct the actions of the working people.

Second: The moral value orientations, relations and personality convictions greatly affect the ways and means by which personal interests are brought to realization. For that there are always alternatives under our social conditions. The working people can realize their personal material interest in higher wages through honest, conscientious, socially useful work, through genuine performance improvement. They thereby make use of the objective possibility for combining fundamental social and personal interests in what they do. The conditions for it grow to the extent that, in the shaping of the developed socialist society, economic and social policies become more unified, the socialist performance principle is more resolutely implemented, and socialist democracy is perfected. Some working people, when the public supervision over the quality and quantity of work performed is inadequate, may also push their personal material interest by stretching a point or two, i.e. by dishonestly accounting for what they have accomplished, without any consideration for the social interest in a better quality and efficiency of their work.

What this explains is the following: The dependency of personal prosperity and of the satisfaction of personal needs and interests on the implementation of the basic social interests is an overall social context which an individual may evade without any direct disadvantages, in many cases even while gaining direct personal benefits--provided such conduct remains the exception and the realization of overall social interests is not greatly infringed or even jeopardized. But once a certain limit is exceeded, such conduct, intent on short-range personal advantage, is bound to produce long-term social effects that will become perceptibly detrimental to the productivity trend and the social production efficiency and, eventually, to the development of the material and cultural standard of living of each. Whatever path an individual may choose in exercising his personal interests, his moral value orientations, his moral relations to his fellow-men, his work collective and all of society, and the moral quality of his motivation have a significant influence on it. They most closely work together with material incentives in the sense of the socialist performance principle. It makes the realization of the personal material interest dependent on a conscientious fulfilment of the social demands placed on the quality and efficiency of one's own labor, on the meeting of social standards and parameters.

A resolute insistence on the socialist performance principle, which must needs come together with strict public supervision over the measure of work performed, curtails the chance to implement personal material interests egotistically, without regard for certain social interests along with it. It provides the practical experience for that a successful exercise of personal interests presupposes regard for social requirements and standards. This is an important realization that leads the individual in what he thinks and does beyond his own immediate interests. Such experiences therefore also are an important pick-up point in party organization efforts to make all working people aware of the



identity, of principle, between the fundamental social and personal interests of all working people to nurture their personal identification with the social interests. That only can make sure that an individual voluntarily and deliberately uses the growing possibilities for combining while acting the personal and social interests, giving preference to such conduct over all other alternatives.

Third: Moral value orientations, relations and motives have a great influence on how the working people react to concrete contradictions between social, collective and personal interests. Such contradictions between interests keep coming up anew always within the process in which social contradictions move and are being resolved. They are above all marked by that under given conditions social and personal interests push the working people's efforts in different and partly opposing directions so that it is hardly possible, or not possible at all, to combine these interests and realize them simultaneously in action.

Let us clarify that by using an example: In the process of scientific-technical progress, the contradiction deepens between the rapidly increasing material-technical and intellectual potential of society on the one side and the requisite fast replacement of the material production conditions, the accelerated application of qualificational and educational substances, on the other.<sup>21</sup> This contradiction is tied up with the partly quite complicated and multilayered contradictions between social, collective and personal interests. Thus the social interest in picking up novel and propitious lines of scientific and technical development and in the research potential concentration needed for it may stand in contradiction to the interest the enterprise has in effectively using its extant research potential as well as to the interest of the individual in using and perfecting his acquired knowledge and abilities further. And then also, the interest by the enterprise in scientific-technical innovations that would guarantee effective production over long range and efficient sales, as well as the personal interest in learning to cope with something new, tend in the direction of the social interest described.

These and similar contradictions in concrete interests are bound to place the individual before intricate and complicated decisions: Which interests should I give preference to in a concrete situation? Whatever decision is made, it greatly depends on subjective factors, on the maturity of the working people's socialist attitudes and modes of conduct, and on the quality of management activity and collective relations in their work collectives. Individual decision on behalf of society is encouraged mainly by a solidly formed sense of responsibility, firm integration within the work collective, and effective managerial work supervision. In turn, the lack of a sense of responsibility, insufficient bonding within the work collective and inadequate labor supervision bring it about that some working people decide to place their personal interests above social interests and carry them through at the expense of the work collective and of society.

Experience confirms that the working people's basic ideological-moral stance, their attitude toward social interests and the quality of moral relations within the work collective greatly determine whether the working people, led by their Marxist-Leninist party, combine their efforts in consciously and purposefully pushing ahead the moving and solving of social contradictions in terms of social progress. This way moral impulses permanently affect the concrete form in which social contradictions move and their deliberate use as impulses for social progress.

# FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. E. Honecker, "Mit Tatkraft und Zuversicht die vor uns liegenden Aufgaben zum Wohl des Volkes meistern, 5. Tagung des ZK der SED" (Coping With the Tasks Ahead of Us for the Well-being of the People with Energy and Confidence--Fifth SED Central Committee Session), Berlin, 1982, p 19.
2. Cf. G. R. Radtke, "Making More Effective Use of the Intellectual-Creative Potential," EINHEIT, Nos 7/8, 1982, p 713.
3. Cf. E. Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress), Berlin, 1981, p 91.
4. Cf. I. Schulze/H. Weisspflug, "Triebkraefte der Gesellschaft--Triebkraefte des Handelns" (Impulses of Society--Impulses for Action), Berlin, 1979.
5. Cf. W. Teichmann, "The Dialectical Interaction Between Individual and Socialist Society--Impulse for Social Development," DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE (DZfPh), No 7, 1982, pp 852 ff.
6. Cf. A. Arnold, "Emotional Impulses in Personality Attitude," DZfPh, No 5, 1982, pp 565 ff.
7. Cf. H. Schliwa, "Performance and Humanism," DZfPh, No 12, 1982, pp 1431 f, 1437 f.
8. Ideas about the nature, substance and function of moral impulses can be found, e.g., in T. Hahn, "Nature and Function of Moral Impulses in Socialist Society," DZfPh, No 5, 1968, pp 525 ff; H. Boeck, "Ethische Probleme der sozialistischen Fuehrungstaetigkeit" (Ethical Problems in Socialist Leadership Activity), Berlin, 1968, pp 117 ff; W. Bradter, "Moral--Motiv--Verhalten. Das moralische Motiv in der marxistisch-leninistischen Ethik" (Morality--Motives--Conduct. The Moral Motive in Marxist-Leninist Ethics), Berlin, 1976; A. G. Kharchev/B. D. Yakovlev, "Outline of the History of Marxist-Leninist Ethics in the USSR," A. G. Kharchev/R. Miller, eds., "Ethik," Berlin, 1976, pp 42 ff; F. S. Anissimov, "The Social Nature, Structure and Functions of Morality," "Ethik," pp 71 ff; Authors' Collective under A. I. Titarenko, "Marxistisch-leninistische Ethik," Berlin, 1979, pp 96 ff; H. Hegewald, "Moral Impulses for the Rational Use of the Natural Resources in Socialism," DZfPh, No 12, 1982.
9. Cf. Authors' Collective under A. Kosing, "Dialektik des Sozialismus," Berlin, 1981, pp 248 f.
10. Cf. W. Bradter, op. cit., pp 54 ff.
11. Cf. "Dialektik des Sozialismus," loc. cit., p 249.
12. "Thesen des Zentralkomitees der SED zum Karl-Marx-Jahr 1983," Berlin, 1982, p 44.

13. Authors' Collective under A. G. Kharchev, "Die Moral der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft" (The Morality of the Developed Socialist Society), Berlin, 1979, pp 55 f; K. Schwarzman, "Theoretical Problems in Ethics, " "Ethik," loc. cit., pp 121 ff.
14. Cf. "Marxistisch-leninistische Ethik," loc. cit., pp 138 ff.
15. This account is based on surveys on the advantages and impulses of socialist society, carried out by the Institute for Marxist-Leninist Philosophy of the SED Central Committee Academy for Social Sciences in twelve enterprises in Dresden Bezirk in 1982.
15. "Thesen des Zentralkomitees . . .," loc. cit., p 44.
17. T. Hahn, op. cit., p 525.
18. Cf. K. Marx, "Grundrisse der Kritik der Politischen Oekonomie" (Principles of the Critique of Political Economy), Berlin, 1953, pp 376, 384 f, 389 f, 392, 395.
19. Authors' Collective under T. Hahn, "Wie steht es um Leistungsstreben, Initiative, Schoepfertum?" Berlin, 1979, p 116.
20. Cf. O. I. Shkaratan, "The Relation to Work and Labor Efficiency," SOWJETWISSENSCHAFT--GESELLSCHAFTSWISSENSCHAFTLICHE BEITRAEGE, No 4, 1982, p 527.
21. Authors' Collective under H. Nick, "Wissenschaft und Produktion in Sozialismus," Berlin, 1976.

5885

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DISSIDENT DISCUSSES DIVERSITY OF OPPOSITION GROUPS

Geneva JOURNAL DE GENEVE in French 22 Feb 84 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Nagy Balint, Hungarian dissident, during his visit to France, by Antoine Bosshard; date and place not specified]

[Text] Nagy Balint, 35 years old, has periwinkle-blue eyes in a lumberjack's face, a long beard and long curly hair falling to his shoulders--he looks every bit the part of his occupation--carpenter. Only, he's not a carpenter; he is prevented from practicing his real profession, architecture, by the Hungarian authorities. Nagy Balint is part of the opposition, in a country where the word "dissident" is not part of the vocabulary. And where all those in disagreement with the regime have had a much tougher life this past year.

[Question] You are a dissident. What significance does that have in your daily life?

[Answer] In effect, I have not been able to practice my profession for five years and, whenever I've looked for work, I've run up against insurmountable obstacles. As a consequence, I've been working "underground" as a carpenter, which is exhausting. But it allows me to earn considerably more than I used to: as a draftsman-architect, my last job, I only made 3800 forint a month. I make 15,000 now (or, twice what a journalist earns). But there is a great deal of uncertainty involved, also.

Besides this, the authorities have means of pressuring us, such as the prohibition against traveling abroad: this is the first time in five years that I've been able to leave Hungary, thanks to the Countess Karoly (the widow of the Hungarian president of 1918-1919) who created a foundation in Vence. As an exception, then, I've been granted authorization (as has the opposition leader Laszlo Rajk) to travel to France.

[Question] With which opposition tendency do you identify yourself?

[Answer] With the democratic opposition, which is only one movement among several, and mainly includes the populists, the grass-roots movements (militant Catholics) and the independent peace movement (opposition pacifists). All these movements are distinct from one another, but

they regularly take action in common. We collaborate with the populists in defense of Hungarian minorities abroad and with the Catholics on the issue of conscientious objection.

[Question] Your ideology?

[Answer] Our group is not homogeneous. Let's just say that we're in agreement on two concepts: social pluralism and democratic socialism.

[Question] What do you understand by that? Is there any model in the world that is a source of inspiration for you?

[Answer] None. We draw on the thinking of politicians or theoreticians like Oskar Jaszi (a radical of the 1914-1918 period) or Istvan Bibó (one of the fathers of modern Hungarian thought) and others.

[Question] Do you think the current Hungarian socialist model is prefectable or must it be completely revamped?

[Answer] It is precisely our policy to take into consideration the current Hungarian model and to propose a method for it that could be implemented in the short, medium and long term. In the immediate future, we would like what we call a "second public life" to be instituted, a sort of forum where ideas other than those of the regime could be aired.

[Question] In short, to legalize what is just barely tolerated today?

[Answer] "Legalize" is putting it a little strongly--to create an intermediate stage between tolerance and legality is more like it.

[Question] But that describes your situation right now...

[Answer] When our movement was at its height during 1978-1979, that was indeed the case: we were tolerated. Since then the situation has deteriorated, and we are slipping towards illegality.

[Question] Give us some examples...

[Answer] As you know, the police closed down the boutique Laslo Rajk ran in his apartment in the heart of Budapest, where he sold all kinds of opposition publications, of every stripe, in full view of the authorities. We also have a much harder time than before producing and distributing our writings.

[Question] Why this apparent crack-down by the authorities, particularly in the last year?

[Answer] Oddly enough, I don't believe there is any direct connection between these measures and our activities. We are subjected to searches when we've done nothing and, conversely, we are sometimes not bothered when

we're very active. You can take our word for it--this reflects internal conflicts within the power structure, where it is decided whether or not to give free rein to police actions. And this policy of repression is primarily linked with foreign policy and Hungarian economic questions.

[Question] In what way?

[Answer] With foreign policy, because if a head of state comes to Hungary, if one of our leaders leaves for the West, or if a large monetary institution is due to grant us a loan, we are bothered less for a few weeks or months. As far as the economy is concerned, the government must justify the austerity measures of the last few months. Therefore, it explains that the crisis the country is experiencing is attributable to the deterioration in the international climate. In this case, the opposition is linked with the "Western imperialists". Suddenly, we stand accused. This is how one of our people, Konrad, became the target of severe attacks by "Nepzabadsag", the official party organ.

[Question] And Andropov? Was he at the bottom of the hardships you've experienced for the last year?

[Answer] I don't think so. True, Hungary is not free to do as it pleases, but not to that extent. At the very most, it could be construed that Hungary is seeking to project a good image of itself to the master.

[Question] Specifically, what has happened to the opposition in the last year?

[Answer] There are some negative and some positive points.

First of all, as you know, Rajk's samizdat boutique was shut down, first in the center of Budapest, then in his mother's apartment where he had moved. Secondly, the number of pages we publish today has been reduced to one quarter of what we were still putting out a year ago. Moreover, the police seized most of the "Feketeben" ("Underground") anthologies on which some 35 writers and poets and 20 artists were collaborating. The "Information" bulletin was also suppressed. The peace movement "Dialogue" dissolved itself, in the face of police pressure. Yet it had a membership of some 2,000 people, primarily students. The sociologist Csoori was forbidden to publish because he contributed an introduction to a work dealing with the fate of the Hungarian minority in Czechoslovakia. Finally, at the end of the year, two major events took place: one was the suspension of Ferenc Kulin, manager of a very important youth review, MOZGO VILAG [World in Motion]. This caused quite a commotion, and the vice-minister--this is a positive point in my eyes--had to come explain his decision to a roomful of several thousands young people. Finally, an important opposition editor, Demsky, was summoned by the police, and beaten by them, before the Ministry of the Interior itself intervened, disclaiming the forces of law and order! Demsky was finally sentenced to a year of prison at the end of December, with a suspended sentence.

On the positive side: the important BESZELOT [The Speaker] review is still being published and distributed; agreements have been reached between opposition movements; and new newspapers, such as the bulletin HIRMONDO [The Announcer] are cropping up. The peace movement has managed to survive, by becoming more radical.

[Question] Do you think the authorities may have feared the opposition movement would swell as a result of the deterioration in the standard of living?

[Answer] No. I think that, faced with this deterioration, the authorities have primarily sought to reinforce the private sector, to multiply measures in this sector, which obviously serves as a safety valve for them.

[Question] Sum up the economic situation for us.

[Answer] In a word: total uncertainty. First of all, because essential data are not made public. Particularly with respect to the debt service (Hungary has the highest per capita indebtedness of any Eastern-block country). Next, there is no guarantee that private enterprises will survive, as they have been forbidden to found an association in defense of their interests.

[Question] But could the movement really renounce the existence of a "second economy"?

[Answer] I hope not. Certainly, the current economic course tends to strengthen civil society and social pluralism. It would be very difficult to reverse the trend. Short of using force.

9825

CSO: 3619/38

RESULTS OF TORUN VOIVODSHIP REPORTS-ELECTIONS CONFERENCE REPORTED

Account of Proceedings

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 13 Jan 84 pp 1, 7

[Article: "Torun PZPR Voivodship Committee Reports-Elections Conference Held; Strength of the Party in Leadership Ability; Zenon Draminski First Secretary of the Party's Voivodship Committee; Excerpts from Mirosław Milewski's Address Along With Discussion"]

[Text] Yesterday the PZPR voivodship reports-elections conference was held in Torun, with 322 delegates in attendance. It brought the elections campaign which had been waged since last October in the basic units and party organizations to a climax, assessed the term of the past 2 and a half years, adopted a program of action, and elected new officials.

The deliberations were chaired by Henryk Cyrklaf and Jerzy Kolaszewski. The following invited guests attended: Mirosław Milewski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; Stanisław Zieba, Minister of Agriculture and Food Economy; ZSL voivodship committee chairman Zofia Kalisz, SD voivodship committee chairman Grazyna Poblocka, PRON voivodship council chairman Antoni Swinarski, Voivodship People's Council chairman Alojzy Tujakowski, and Brig Gen Henryk Kondas, deputy commander of the POW and member of the CKKP presidium.

After Zenon Draminski had greeted the delegates and guests, Wacław Kwiatkowski, a participant in the party's unification congress, an honored veteran of the workers' movement, was formally decorated with the commander's cross of the Order of Polish Rebirth, by Mirosław Milewski.

Following the adoption of the rules for the meeting, there were elections to the elections, mandates, and motions committees. Then Zenon Draminski took the floor and inaugurated discussion (we are publishing an abridged form of his address separately).

Next, Zofia Kalisz and Grazyna Poblocka took the floor. Their addresses emphasized the two parties' cooperation with the PZPR in carrying out the political and socioeconomic tasks helping to get the country out of the crisis more quickly. They also expressed to the delegates the desire for a fruitful meeting and the development of a constructive operation program for the voivodship party organization.



Voivodship Governor Stanislaw Trokowski presented Torun Voivodship's major socioeconomic problems. He placed the main emphasis on the implementation of investment tasks and above all on continuing work on sites in progress, for which 82 percent of the funds expected this year will be allocated. This is an economic necessity stemming from current contracting and material capacities. Voivodship officials see the possibility of developing intervention and single-family construction. This is essential to make full use of old housing resources in buildings requiring capital repairs.

The health service is still underinvested, especially the hospitalization base. There is also a shortage of medical personnel.

An urgent task in agriculture is complete elimination of the effects of the floods and the expansion of reclamation projects, which are essential to the improvement of farming and to the expansion of crop and livestock production.

The extent to which all the aspirations are met will depend to a great extent on the efficiency of the administration, which is enlarging its dialogue with the society and improving its service to citizens, as the governor pointed out.

The conference attendees adopted a motion to elect the voivodship committee first secretary prior to the announcement of candidates for voivodship party official positions. The previous first secretary, Zenon Draminski, was proposed for this position, and the Central Committee Politburo shared in recommending his candidacy. The recommendation was presented by Mirosław Milewski, who was present.

Zenon Draminski received 316 of the 322 votes which delegates cast in a secret ballot and was again elected first secretary of the voivodship committee in Torun. The delegates received the election results with great applause.

Zbigniew Januszewski, Jozef Szymanski, Wladyslaw Bokucinski, Zygmunt Grochowski, Mieczyslaw Oliniacz, Jan Bettin, Andrzej Choinacki, Edward Grzymowicz, Zbigniew Kwiatkowski, and Barbara Marczuk took the floor in the discussion prior to the voivodship committee elections.

The discussion continued in the afternoon hours. Among those speaking were Tomasz Strecker, Franciszek Koseda, Jan Koncewicz, Stanislaw Marikowski, Zbigniew Mariak, Wladyslaw Jura, Jozef Lubomski, Jan Grzecznowski, Ignacy Izydorczyk, Dorota Okonska, Marek Jasiek, Zenon Telizyn, Jan Lewandowski, Roman Moskal, Jerzy Mossakowski, Tadeusz Dabrowski, Roman Dolata, and Kazimierz Sikorski.

Many of the parties to the discussion brought up food problems. These matters were discussed by Stanislaw Zieba, Minister of Agriculture and Food Economy. He emphasized the considerable achievements of Torun Voivodship, which placed third in the country in market-oriented production. It had carried out in all sectors the targets to expand crop and livestock produc-

tion as specified at the joint plenary meeting of the PZPR Central Committee and the supreme board of the ZSL.

The farm economy is based on crop production. With this in mind the government passed the decision to give farmers assistance, for example, in the form of coupons to buy chemical fertilizers and pesticides and in the form of increasing efforts to put water matters in order. Livestock production is undertaken in keeping with the size of the fodder base. Therefore it is correct to increase deliveries of concentrated fodder, while maximum use is also made of farmers' own fodder.

Minister Zieba emphasized that another important matter is the attempt to improve the agrarian structure and to increase the significance of the advisory functions of the agricultural services and especially the proper consumption of farm products through the activation of processing industry. Agriculture in Torun Voivodship has all sorts of possibilities for carrying out these important tasks and solidifying its important position in the country's food economy.

In the course of later deliberations, the results of the voting were announced. The voivodship conference elected a new Voivodship Committee of 101 persons, 21 alternates to the Voivodship Committee, a voivodship party control commission of 41 persons, and 40 members to the voivodship review commission (WKR).

At its first plenary session the Voivodship Committee elected secretaries and an executive committee of 19 members. The WKKP and WKR boards were also constituted.

During the conference Miroslaw Milewski took the floor (an abridged form of his address appears elsewhere in this publication).

During the closing section of the conference a resolution was adopted describing the program and tasks of the echelon and the whole voivodship party organization.

Zenon Draminski briefly summed up the conference.

#### Miroslaw Milewski's Speech

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 13 Jan 84 p 2

[Excerpts from address by Politburo Member Miroslaw Milewski, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee: "We Have Learned How to Overcome Difficulties More Effectively"]

[Text] I am happy to be able to meet with the communists of this famous land on the day summarizing the results of the effort, to be a witness to your satisfaction with the accomplishments and shared participation in working out further effective action to overcome what is bad and also to give concrete form to proved methods making it possible to carry out the line of our party's Ninth Extraordinary Congress.

Honored Comrade Delegates, receive the best wishes for fruitful deliberations from our party's Politburo, and from Wojciech Jaruzelski, its First Secretary, with words of commendation for a party-like attitude and for commitment and fidelity to the ideals of Marxism-Leninism in these most difficult years for our socialist fatherland.

It is to the society's responsibility and deliberation and to the commitment of our most lively activists that we owe gratitude for the progressive process of stabilization. We owe them gratitude and respect, and thanks for the support for the party and officials in the efforts undertaken. This is auspicious and permits the conviction that this year, especially in the new term of the officers elected today, the progress will be still more obvious.

We are noting throughout the country that the course of the campaign is showing that the party's moral authority is on the increase and that its leadership role is being better inculcated and integrated into life in the construction of socialism. It shows that the doubts and fears concerning both the end of martial law and whether a responsible campaign could be waged within the party yet have been unfounded. The course of the meetings and conferences have shown that party members have passed through the period of the term taking a difficult, complicated path, that they have acquired experience in struggling with adversaries, and that at the same time they have gained skill in contacts with people, thereby winning their confidence. They have also learned how to decide in combatting difficulties. Of course there are still weak organizations, and the level of work and the achievements made are not always up to the tasks and the times in all places. It is therefore essential to continue consistent efforts in keeping with the resolutions of the Ninth Party Congress and the successive plenary meetings of the Central Committee.

In many party organization a good share of the discussion is devoted to the problems related to the class struggle going on in Poland, and to the political adversary's operating methods and to problems of dealing with evil. Although the positive changes in this sector must be rated as the most significant, they require continual in-depth analysis and the drawing of appropriate conclusions. We know that the slogans of confrontation by trouble-makers have misfired. They did not ring true with the society, and they have been shunned along with their authors, who have been compromised, despite the appeal made on a tremendous scale, calling for a rising by the underground forces on the occasion of anniversaries just past.

You can see the change in the attitudes of the most bellicose trouble-makers in their presentday addresses and interviews, in which, dressed in the garb of "doves of peace," they say that they never favored confrontation, that they were always in favor of dialogue, because they know that socialism cannot be overthrown in Poland. Their hideous acts today are aimed in another direction, coming from a change in tactics while the same goal remains. We are talking about the slogan of the "long march," the creation of the illusion that someday something will be different, when the right moment for it arrives. Overall it is a question of overcoming stability in the country at all cost, of exploiting the processes of democratization of our life as created by the line of the Ninth Party Congress to weaken the leadership

role of the party as the one able to insure that the socialist changes come about.

We have built up and bolstered our position in the countries of the socialist community, knowing that close cooperation and working together are the best insurance for our national security and that they have permitted us to get through the most difficult time, slowly permitting us to overcome the difficulties that remain.

We want to and will listen to the voices of critics and to proposals for better solutions concerning the democratization of life, but we shall be completely faithful to the ideals of our theory and the most effective form of implementing its principles in our Polish historical and contemporary situation.

We know that there is still a great deal of evil in Poland, that in a difficult supply situation the roots of speculation and economic impropriety have grown up, that people are outraged by instances where someone has become too rich at the cost of another. The great tasks of the time are to deal effectively to create conditions to condemn these phenomena and to mobilize broad public opinion, women, and young people against them. These tasks must be the inspiration for our party, youth, and trade-union organizations working in their own communities, in their own places of work.

In a growing number of letters and complaints directed to the Central Committee, the echelons, and local organizations there is a storm of protest over instances of bureaucracy, improper treatment of people, and a return to the working style which brought about the workers' protest in August of 1980. The fight against such phenomena that party echelons, organizations, and members are undertaking in defense of the victims is the continual task flowing out of the resolutions of the Ninth Party Congress, out of the statute whose implementation fits within the formulation that we are the same but not exactly the same party, because we are getting rid of error, we are returning to the Leninist standards of party life. We will not budge from this.

Party organizations are putting a great deal of effort into building of social support and trust. It is worth noting and recognizing that in the Stomil GZPG more than 50 percent of the workers registered with the new trade unions. It is surprising, however, that at this plant more than 30 percent of the party members failed to join.

The work of the self-governments, PRON, and other social organizations also need party support. There was great concern too voiced at meetings over cases of religious intolerance that still occur. There are still instances where places of worship are used for antigovernment demonstrations, but we believe that the line of realism as represented by a substantial share of the church hierarchy will bring about the proper effects, that both within the church and within society the basic truth that there is no other way than the solidification of the gains of socialism in Poland will win.

I would like to direct some words of recognition to those who are responsible for the fact that Torun Voivodship places sixth in the nation in terms of the production rate and the achievement of industrial production at pre-crisis levels, especially at Stomil GZPG and the Elana company of Torun, but even there untapped reserves remain.

Torun's difficult housing situation is well known. We are aware of the efforts undertaken on behalf of conserving the important historical landmarks of the cities of Torun, Chelmno, and Grudziadz. We share this concern and the efforts undertaken in the conviction that the society will understand that the present major effort must be directed at carrying out the three-year plan in full. Although things will continue to be difficult, it will then be possible to speak in more concrete terms about when and on what scale we will be able to meet and satisfy other needs.

The Torun party organization has cause for satisfaction with the achievements made over the term. Most party echelons and organizations have the basis for this, especially the voivodship echelon, Comrade Delegates.

I wish to thank the outgoing officers for their work to bolster the party and its leadership role in society.

I wish all those elected, especially Zenon Draminski, the Voivodship Committee first secretary, many successes in the responsible work to strengthen social support for the party's efforts at stabilizing our socialist fatherland.

#### Summary, First Secretary's Speech

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 13 Jan 84 p 2

[Summary of Address Leading up to Discussion, Delivered by Zenon Draminski, first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Torun: "The Good of Working People the Motive of Our Actions; From the Deliberations of the Voivodship Reports-Elections Conference in Torun"]

[Text] We are holding the voivodship party conference during a period of increasing sociopolitical stability in the country. The conditions of party operation and the conditions under which the society is living and working have changed. We have succeeded in creating real foundations for the stability of the life of the society. A sense of the ideas of social justice is being restored. We are insuring that the legal and ethical-moral standards are being respected. These are elements which have become exceptionally important in the party and government policy since December. The major goal is to develop strong, honest, far-sighted leadership and a strong state, one that is effective, strong, and just, and, above all, to create conditions for a better life.

The party must gain more initiative and reliability through wise, concrete work stemming from continually listening to the voice of its members. We are aware that we can meet the society's expectations only through a strong organization which is ideologically cohesive, one that enjoys the trust and

support of working people, the Marxist-Leninist party, which remembers the science and teachings coming from the past, through its program and action oriented to the future.

Does the voivodship party organization, which has more than 42,000 members and candidates, fit these criteria? In response to this question we can probably say that we have overcome the ideologico-political and organizational crisis. The organization has come through a stormy period of quantitative losses strengthened in the struggle against the political adversary, consolidated, and made stronger. It is presently decidedly more active, more mobile, and more obvious in the working environment.

This assessment is confirmed by the course of the reports-elections campaign. It has been rich in content and contributed many interesting, useful suggestions. Criticism was not missing either. The party aspect of economic issues was gained more forcefully than ever. There was particular emphasis on how important the sphere of human attitudes, ideological motivation, and the sense of party responsibility are from the viewpoint of bolstering and developing the economy.

An important current in the discussion and in the questions posed concerned the mechanisms which on the one hand insure development and build up socialist values and on the other hand will provide the assurance that the future will not bring about the distortions and deformities we went through in the past. These are issues of particular interest to young people. For the party, young people are a problem of strategic significance, particularly because some of them are still being influenced by the demagogic slogans of adversaries of the party and the socialist state. The key task for party organizations and echelons is to cause young people, especially peasant-worker youth, to become identified with our party's program.

Of particular value are those proposals presented during the campaign which develop and strengthen the process of democratization of life and create the mechanisms for social activity and control over economic and social practice. They show that in statements made, alongside the critical analysis of the past, there is the predominant unbroken concern for the future of our country, for its long-range prospects, and for the conditions of development.

The campaign proved that the party echelons and the basic party organizations must create closer bonds with working people, inspire sociopolitical and professional activity, and create the framework for the development of constructive criticism against manifestations of inefficiency, passive attitudes, and lack of commitment. It is important to insure broader participation in the work of all party echelons and executive bodies by worker and peasant activists who distinguish themselves by virtue of their activity and moral authority.

Our voivodship party echelon faces important tasks in the realm of education, culture, and science. It is especially important to remove barriers which block fair access to secondary schools and institutions of higher education by youth of all backgrounds.

The present state and long-range prospects for the operation of Copernicus University, of which our voivodship and our country may be proud, are an important issue. We share the concern of the university's party organization and of university officials concerning the condition of certain departments and majors, especially insofar as the base and personnel are concerned. This applies in particular to the humanities and to economics. The newly elected Voivodship Committee and its executive board and administrative officers of Torun must devote a great deal of attention to this subject. At the same time we are counting on the active participation of all our university's research and teaching personnel in overcoming the economic problems, in promoting modern techniques, and in furthering progress in all areas of our life.

The first stage of building the social and economic conditions for getting out of the complicated situation is to achieve a sense of stability. This is related to satisfying the basic needs of the voivodship's residents in the realm of food, the factories' needs for raw materials and spare parts, and the farmers' needs for machinery, fertilizer, and fodder. These problems have been taking up the attention of the voivodship echelon and will continue to do so. The people's vital needs related to working conditions, a real increase in earnings, health care, the operation of trade and services, and the housing situation must be considered particularly important.

During the past reporting period, the voivodship echelon, the local echelons, and the plant echelons have tried to bring about broader social acceptance of the goals of the economic reform. In these efforts we have emphasized that the rank of the reform calls for deep, party, and social control with the participation of the workers of the places of employment, because the reformation of the economy is hampered by such phenomena as the habits and routine of some managerial personnel, the special interests of industrial branches and individual plants, and instances of violation of economic laws that often result from the fact that people neglect them or are not aware of them.

Good, productive, honest work is a matter of primary importance today. We are seeing increased labor productivity in many of our voivodship's plants. We have gained favorable results in transportation, traffic, and trade. Despite the difficulties, the Torun countryside is accomplishing its tasks with success, but there are still a great many comments about labor discipline and management, the neglect of professional duties, and violation of the principles of common life. In the rural environment basic party organizations and committees must act to improve the operation of the administrative and service units and to combat helplessness, bureaucracy, and lack of sensitivity.

The worker self-government and trade union groups are consistently holding meetings throughout the voivodship. It is the task of party members to break down old attitudes patiently. We must show workers the basic differences between the party's approach to the interests of the working class and that of the adversary. The unions' position depends on their genuine

competence, on having managers count on their opinion, and on the trade union movement's activity and participation in overcoming the crisis.

The voivodship reports-elections conference is being held on the first days of the 40th anniversary of our socialist statehood. Therefore we can say that this is the voivodship party inauguration of the 40th anniversary of People's Poland, and the program we are working out today will be our concrete contribution to commemorating this important anniversary. We are also meeting at the time of the onset of the campaign for elections to the people's councils. We must wage both of these campaigns under conditions of severe political struggle, against demagogic slogans and noisy propaganda which denies the achievements of the past 40 years, as voiced by our political opponents. On the threshold of the elections we have some important trump cards, the deep conviction that we have a well-marked road and that we are consistently moving ahead, that we have an experienced, ideologically-motivated, honest group of activists with the desire to serve the working class and the entire nation. The elections must be a period of special dedication and commitment for all party members.

The term which is coming to a close today has not been wasted time. Each party member, every party organization, and every party echelon has brought its contribution to socioeconomic and political life. We are not satisfied with everything yet, but we know that we must take on new obligations and tasks, that we are better prepared for them, and that the society of our voivodship cannot hate us. The concern for the development of our voivodship and the good of its residents has been and will be the motivation underlying all the efforts being undertaken by the voivodship party organization.

10790

CSO: 2600/702



RESULTS OF ZAMOSC PROVINCE REPORTS-ELECTIONS CONFERENCE REPORTED

Proceedings Reviewed

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 6 Jan 84 pp 1,2

[Text] (Own Information) The Fifth PZPR Voivodship Reports-Elections Conference deliberated in Zamosc on Thursday, 5 January. The 239 delegates, representing 23,000 members of the Zamosc area party voivodship organization, assessed the term of 2 and 1/2 years and elected new officials of the Voivodship Committee [KW], the Voivodship Party Control Commission [WKKP] and the Voivodship Revision Commission [WKR] and prepared an operational program. Comrade Wladyslaw Kowal was reelected first secretary of the PZPR KW in Zamosc.

The deliberations were held in the vast new sports auditorium, where there hung in full view from a central location the motto: "For the party and the people, our work, our sacrifice and our commitment." PZPR KW first secretary Comrade Wladyslaw Kowal opened deliberations. After a brief description of the goals of the conference, he greeted delegates and invited guests. These included: PZPR KC [Central Committee] secretary Comrade Zbigniew Michalek, member of the Council of State, chairman of the TPPR [Polish-Soviet Friendship Society] ZG [Main Board] and Zamosc area deputy Comrade Stanislaw Wronski, CKKP [Central Party Control Commission] Presidium member Comrade Col Kazimierz Przychodzen and CKR [Central Review Commission] Presidium member Comrade Stanislaw Blezien, and Comrade Stanislaw Kukuryka, minister of the construction and building materials industry.

The chairmen of the voivodship echelons of allied political parties also took part in the conference: chairman of the ZSL WK [Voivodship Committee] Stanislaw Majewski and chairman of the SD WK Mieczyslaw Lesniak, chairman of the WRN [Voivodship People's Council] Mieczyslaw Janislowski and chairman of the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] Voivodship Coordinating Council Marian Szubtarski. Numerous administrative and economic workers from the region and the voivodship and Sejm deputies were also present.

Participants in the deliberations paused for a moment of silence in honor of the memory of deceased workers' movement activists Jozef Dechnik and Edward Borowski.

The delegates elected three co-chairmen: Kazimierz Michalik, Waldemar Korkosz and Stanislaw Popielecki. Under the chairmanship of these men, the conference embarked upon substantive deliberations. Working commissions were chosen, and then the KW Executive Board report leading into the discussion was given by Comrade Wladyslaw Kowal (a discussion of the report is published on p 3 [Polish text]).

Many subjects were addressed during the conference discussion. Among the first to take the floor were the representatives of the voivodship ZSL and SD authorities. They pointed out concrete planes of cooperation, especially in the field of agriculture and in services, broadly understood, and gave examples of cooperation toward creating an atmosphere beneficial to work and social understanding. The PRON representative discussed this same topic.

Zamosc Voivodship governor Marian Wysocki presented a report to delegates on the socioeconomic situation of the voivodship, highlighting the problems of agriculture. Good results have been noted recently, especially in crop and milk production. In conjunction with this, the voivodship governor spoke of a key issue that has retarded the development of the Zamosc area economy--the lack of processing capacity in the agricultural processing industry. He listed the fields that require concentrated investment efforts in the farm economy (milk and beet processing, preservation and road and waterworks construction). The authorities will focus on the expansion of the economic infrastructure in agriculture and will aim to enlist public help for this work.

The voivodship governor likewise discussed the level and the results of the work of the administration, stating that employees will seek to improve this area by paying special attention to the service role of the administration towards society.

Several dozen representatives of various occupations and milieus spoke during the discussion, presenting assessments and making recommendations with regard to the effectiveness of party work and activities in the socioeconomic sphere.

PZPR KC secretary Comrade Zbigniew Michalek also took the floor during the discussion.

(Saturday's issue of SZTANDAR LUDU will contain a detailed discussion of this speech as well as the full text of the discussion).

The returns committee announced the results of secret elections for the new authorities. Those elected included 79 members and 25 candidate members of the KW and 27 members each of the WKKP and the WKR.

The first plenary meeting of the KW was held, during which the KW Executive Board was elected. WKKP and WKR officials were also chosen. (The listing of new officials will be published in tomorrow's issue of SZTANDAR LUDU [7 Jan 1984]).

The final part of the conference that lasted until the late evening hours was devoted to the preparation and passing of an operational program for the voivodship party organization.

#### Executive Board Report

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 6 Jan 84 p 3

[Article: "On an Avantgarde Party"; material enclosed between slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] In the introduction to the report of the KW Executive Board it was underscored that the experiences of recent years confirm the general truth of socialism that was expressed vigorously at the Unification Congress held 35 years ago--that the working class needs a party that is organizationally one, ideologically cohesive, avantgarde and that serves society. To the extent that its skills, its knowledge and its potential allow, the Zamosc party organization has attempted to carry out these instructions in its work, enriching them with the line of struggle and understanding laid out by the Ninth Extraordinary Congress.

In intraparty work, the report said, /a basic re-ordering of ranks has taken place in the last term. Most of those that left the party were lacking in ideology and were passive and hypocritical. This process,/ lasting the entire term, while reducing the numbers of the voivodship party organization from 32,000 to 23,000, /became an important element for consolidating and strengthening primary party elements./ We cannot say today that this process is finished, since the reports-elections campaign notes that it must be a long-term process, whereas /the leadership and activism of party members in their own milieus assumes special importance during the current period./

It was further emphasized that the reduction in the number of representatives of workers and farmers in party ranks is especially alarming. Moreover, the number of young people and women has also declined. Consequently, filling this gap is a priority obligation that is fully possible to implement, particularly since the majority of party organizations have begun to take the offensive in their communities, recovering their political initiative in full. Of course, the level of political-organizational activism continues to vary. During the past term, the following shortcomings were stressed most often: the lack of consistency in the enforcement of party discipline and in the accounting for individual party tasks.

/Such self-criticism is a valuable achievement of the campaign, especially since participants in meetings and conferences made a generally mature and thoughtful selection of authorities, giving their vote of confidence to the best and most active candidates. There is an especially large number of workers and peasants among those entrusted with the functions of group leaders and secretaries, as well as the members of the executive boards of district and primary party organizations./

The report stressed that problems regarding world view and ideology are becoming more and more important in the life of the Zamosc party organization. The Military Political Academy and UMCS [Marie Curie-Sklodowska University] in Lublin are providing much assistance in this work. Meanwhile, the appointment of regional centers for party work and the active publishing work of the KC [Central Committee] Ideological and Information Departments have been very helpful in training-informational work.

Further on the report emphasized strongly that /in all party echelons and elements of the Zamosc Voivodship work has been guided by the principle that the rebuilding of the party's authority and of society's trust in the party can be effected only when the party becomes sensitive to the issues and the needs of the working people, when it becomes a real confidant and defender and when its members give a daily example worth following. Thus, it is good that more and more people are coming to the Zamosc KW with their problems and that the KW is receiving more and more letters./ While it is not easy to satisfy all hopes and expectations, every positive example of commitment to the problems of specific individuals, employee groups or communities builds the authority of the party and officials and confirms the credibility of the socialist renewal. Obviously, this refers not only to the employees of echelons, but also to all party members unexcepted and particularly to people in leadership positions that perform their functions with the party's recommendation.

Much attention in the report was given to social justice. It was noted that this problem cannot be examined only through the prism of the minority feeding off the crisis. /Nor should we put up with insensitivity, unjust prices, poor work discipline, wastefulness in the management of public property, bureaucracy and cronyism./

The building of the front of understanding and the stronger and stronger ties of cooperation with the ZSL and the SD serve society well. PRON is also becoming a broader and broader base for social work and for many initiatives in the voivodship.

Trade unions, joining together 32,000 workers at present, thus more than 36 percent of those employed in the state-controlled economy, play a special role. Let us note that half of the union members are workers.

Self-governments were recognized in the report to be an important element of democracy. It was emphasized that employee councils have resumed activity in nearly all state voivodship enterprises.

Further on in the report, problems related to the approaching elections to people's councils and to the work of women's and youth organizations were discussed. It was stated that we cannot but perceive the consequences of the ravages wreaked upon the consciousness of young people. /The sooner the process of our emergence from the crisis succeeds in winning the battle over the hearts and minds of youth, the shorter it will be. Examples of the active commitment of young people's attitudes are noted more and more often in the Zamosc Voivodship. For example, one can single out the work of the

ZSMP circle in Borowo, the Meat Plant in Zamosc and the MEWA Knitwear Goods Plant in Bilgoraj./

The KW Executive Board report likewise noted the key significance of the alliance with the Soviet Union that has a special dimension in the Zamosc area. The traditions of the common battle of the Polish and Soviet partisans against Hitler's occupation are alive in this area. Following the war, the many years of friendly contacts of the people of the Zamosc Voivodship with the working people of the Lutsk district in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic have brought together tested friends.

/The voivodship party organization recognizes the primary task in the economic sphere to be that of ensuring the most favorable conditions possible for the rapid, efficient implementation of economic reform./ In their daily work, party organizations have countered the negative phenomena accompanying the implementation of the reform, e.g., tendencies toward profiteering through price increases. /As a result of party and administrative efforts in voivodship enterprises, beginning with the second quarter of 1982, the declining trends in production were stopped and last year, production increased significantly. The growth of available housing, the return to municipal construction and the development of single-family housing construction are especially gratifying./

As the report emphasizes, the situation in Zamosc agriculture has improved considerably, particularly following the 11th PZPR KC and ZSL NK [Supreme Committee] Plenum. /Several voivodship industrial plants came to the aid of agriculture by producing the necessary farm machinery and equipment./ The work of self-governing, cooperative and social organizations at work in rural areas, however, has not been fully satisfactory. More decisive and initiative are also needed in the field of the development of farm-food processing and the storage base. The milk cooperative is battling problems of milk processing, especially during the spring-summer period, when the milk supply is 300,000 liters greater than processing capacity. A similar situation exists with regard to sugar refinery capacity. Refineries process about 700,000 tons of beets under economically unfavorable conditions. Voivodship warehouses are able to store scarcely 16 percent of the grain produced here.

#### Conclusion, Executive Board

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 7-8 Jan 84 pp 1,2

[Excerpt] As we have already stated, on Thursday, 5 January, the Fifth PZPR Voivodship Reports-Elections Conference was held in Zamosc.

The 239 delegates assessed objectively the work of the voivodship party organization over the 2 and 1/2 year term. The conference discussion, in which 27 speakers participated, was very substantive. PZPR KC secretary Zbigniew Michalek also took part in the discussion.

The achievements of the conference and considerations covering the entire reports-elections campaign were included in a specific resolution.

The conference elected voivodship party authorities. Wladyslaw Kowal was reelected first secretary. In secret ballot, the conference also elected the Voivodship Committee. The KW in turn elected the KW Executive Board and Secretariat. The following were reelected KW secretaries: Wieslaw Cichon, Zygmunt Mankowski, Stanislaw Szafraniec and Bronislaw Witkowski.

The conference deliberations concluded in the late evening hours. Due to our earlier deadline, we were unable to include all reports materials.

Today's issue of the paper includes a paraphrasing of the discussion and the complete listing of officials (pp 2 and 3 [Polish text]).

#### KW Executive Board

Wieslaw Cichon--PZPR KW secretary; Wlodzimierz Fudali--ZSMP ZW chairman; Czeslaw Gader--WUSW [Voivodship Office of Internal Affairs] head; Mieczyslaw Kaminski--director of Building Tile Plant in Markowice; Czeslaw Kopec--farmer from Zdanow in the Zamosc gmina [parish]; Waldemar Korkosz--first secretary of the PZPR KM [Municipal Committee] in Hrubieszow; Wladyslaw Kowal--first secretary of the PZPR KW; Stefan Kowalik--first secretary of the PZPR KM in Zamosc; Henryk Kurczynski--foreman from the WSK [Transportation Equipment Plant], Tomaszow branch; Zygmunt Mankowski--PZPR KW secretary; Wacław Purchala--head of the Voivodship Military Headquarters; Stanislaw Sobczyk--galvanizer at the Rolling Stock Repair Plant in Bilgoraj; Stanislaw Suchora--teacher from the Joint Electrical Schools in Zamosc; Wladyslaw Surmacz--farmer from Szczepieszyn, chairman of the RKiOR [expansion unavailable] Gmina Union; Stanislaw Szafraniec--PZPR KW secretary; Bronislaw Witkowski--PZPR KW secretary; Marian Wysocki--Zamosc Voivodship Governor.

8536

CSO: 2600/763

RESULTS OF WALBRZYCH PROVINCIAL REPORTS-ELECTIONS CONFERENCE

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 30 Jan 84 pp 1, 2

[Article by Tadeusz Dudz and Jozef Wieczorek]

[Excerpts] Danuta Mika, Zenon Cyktor, Jerzy Byj and Jerzy Krzywda were elected secretaries of the PZPR Provincial Committee [KW] in Walbrzych once more.

All the secretaries were included in the KW. Furthermore, others elected to the composition of this group were: Krzysztof Czaja, chairman of the ZW ZSMP [Provincial Board of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth]; Jerzy Gora, colonel of the WP [Polish Army] and head of the WSzW [Provincial Military Headquarters]; Genowefa Kusmerek, spinner at the Bieltex ZPB [Cotton Industry Plant] in Bielawa; Leszek Lamparski, MO [Citizens Militia] colonel and head of the WUSW [Provincial Office of Internal Affairs]; Aleksander Luckos, metal tool worker at the Mera-Pafal ZWAP [Precision Equipment Plant] in Swidnica; Marek Malinowski, editor-in-chief of TRYBUNA WALBRZYSKA; Walenty Matecki, director of the POHZ in Przerzeczyn Zdroj; Jan Mokrzycki, a miner from the Walbrzych mine; Ryszard Najsznerski, representative to the Sejm and director of the Nowa Ruda KWK [hard coal mine]; Stefan Paterek, mine foreman and first secretary of the KZ [plant committee] of the PZPR at the Victoria mine; Wladyslaw Piotrowski, the governor of Walbrzych; Zbigniew Strap, first secretary of the KM [city committee] of the PZPR in Klodzko; Boleslaw Sychowicz, master weaver at the Siesiana DZPB [Lower Silesian Cotton Industry Plant] in Dzierzoniow; Kazimierz Winiarski, private farmer from the village of Zimna Woda in the Gluszyca gmina.

Also included in the composition of the executive board and the secretariat was Jozef Nowak, who was elected first secretary of the PZPR KW earlier.

The PZPR provincial reports-elections conference which convened in Walbrzych General High School No 4 last Saturday

topped off the reports-elections campaign that has been going one for over 3 months within party groups, organizations and branches in Walbrzych Province. The provincial party organization, which has over 39,000 members and candidates, was represented by 300 delegates from among 303 elected during the course of the campaign. A wide range of problems were discussed together: those occurring within the party, and ideological, sociopolitical and economic ones. The difficult road taken over the last 2.5 years was appraised and tasks for the coming term were defined. Also, there were elections held for the provincial party organization leadership, statutory commissions, as well as the first secretary of the PZPR KW.

### The Opening of the Conference

The session of the provincial conference was opened by Jozef Nowak, the first secretary of the PZPR KW. In his introduction, he asked those assembled to commemorate our comrades in arms and labor during the past term with a minute of silence, after which he stated, among other things: "The past term will have a significant meaning in the life of the party and nation. In 1981, an unambiguous task stood before us--to defend socialism in Poland, to defend the class achievements of the working people and at the same time to work in support of the renewal of sociopolitical and economic relations in the country. That period is behind us now. In Poland, socialism has won out, which places the interests of the working class first.

"Positive changes have occurred in the party. They were confirmed also by the reports-elections campaign, during the course of which an economic reckoning was achieved as well."

Next, Comrade J. Nowak cordially greeted the delegates and invited guests, among whom were: Henryk Bednarski, secretary of the KC [Central Committee] of the PZPR; Alfred Kostrzewa, member of the CKKP [Central Party Control Commission]; Tomasz Afeltowicz, member of the CKR [Central Audit Commission]; Stanislaw Gebala, chief of the Economic Department of the PZPR KC; Wieslaw Mlynarczyk, deputy chief of the Agricultural Department of the PZPR KC; General of the Army Zbigniew Nowak, candidate member of the PZPR KC, vice minister of national defense and delegate to the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the party from Walbrzych province; and Eugeniusz Ciszak, vice minister of mining and energy.

The first secretary of the PZPR KW also greeted the representatives of the party central administration from the Walbrzych region, PZPR Central Committee members: Zdzislaw Gebaska, a teacher from Krosnowice; Genowefa Kusmierek, a Bieltex spinner; Jozef Gil, a farmer from the Bystrzyca Kl. [Klodzka] gmina; Stefan Paterka, mine foreman and first secretary of the PZPR KZ at the Victoria mine; candidate member of the PZPR KC and first secretary of the PZPR KZ at the Nowa Ruda mine [as published]; CKKP member Aleksander Luckos, a metal worker at Mera-Pafal in Swidnica; and CKR member Wieslaw Krupski from Dzierzonow. Comrade J. Nowak also greeted the representatives of



allied political parties present at the conference: the chairman of the KW of the ZSL, Edward Deren; the chairman of the WK [Provincial Committee] of the SD, Andrzej Zajac; veterans of the workers movement; members of the WRN [Provincial People's Council]; activists from PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth]; and labor unions and social organizations.

Next, Deputy Ryszard Najsznerski, member of the PZPR KW executive board and director of the Nowa Ruda mine, presided over the deliberations. After electing business committees, the first secretary of the KW gave a reports-programs report.

#### The Report

"During the last term," Jozef Nowak stated in his introduction, "we had to face a number of confrontations with domestic counterrevolution--an overt one and one which appears in the guise of healers and reformers of our system. Party members did not run short of good will and patience in their endeavor to change the counterrevolutionary direction of events. However, there was also no shortage of resoluteness when it was necessary to defend the unshakeable historic socioeconomic accomplishments of our nation and the foundation of its existence."

The first secretary of the PZPR KW expressed much appreciation to all party members, allied political parties, and the broad ranks of individuals who are not party members who through their work and activity identify with the initiatives of the Central Committee and Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski personally.

"In Walbrzych Province, just as in the entire country, common sense won out. Once more, the fact that the party unites in political and ideological struggle has been borne out. Today, it has fewer numbers, but it is more close-knit, seasoned and energetic in its work. The strengthening of a workers' nucleus within the ranks of the PZPR is its foremost task. The admission of 551 candidates, primarily workers and young people, during the last term attests that there are such possibilities."

"The party organization does not function for itself alone," the speaker emphasized. "We directed all our work toward the broadest possible interests of the working class, all the working people of the province. The first symptoms of economic stabilization in Walbrzych Province are already evident. From August 1982 industrial production has ceased to diminish and from July of last year it has been growing higher than the national average. The earliest indicators moved upward once more in the mining industry, later in other branches--in textiles, ceramics, the electromechanical industry, agriculture, and others. Last year, industrial production grew over 9 [?] percent and labor productivity by almost 13 percent. In many plants Western restrictions are effectively lessened by Soviet deliveries of materials and raw materials.

"The downward trend in construction has been broken as well. Last year, builders turned over 2,060 dwellings, i.e., 234 more than in 1982; however, there is a long way to go in satisfying demand in this area.

"A series of profitable changes occurred in the Walbrzych countryside. Order was introduced to land management, the average acreage of farms grew, and results have improved in the socialized sector. Grain harvests per single hectare in 1982 as well as last year place Walbrzych in the top third of the nation's provinces! On the other hand, livestock production presents a less optimistic picture."

During the course of the campaign, it was pointed out that there was further need of intensified aggressive work in POP's [basic party organizations], a need to raise job training standards, to develop a cooperative dialogue with young people, and concern for a socialist countenance to our schools. Important tasks in cooperation with PRON await political activists during the upcoming elections to the people's councils.

With regard to economic matters, the campaign turned its attention to the catastrophic shortage of water in many cities and villages as well as to the need for finding a place in the central plan for the Sudet Waterworks System. Problems in the construction of dwellings and agriculture in the foothills and mountains, etc., were also brought up. Also, a task for party members will be to struggle further with pathological phenomena in socioeconomic life --speculation, parasitism, waste, and crime. The party must be equal to these tasks, and it will be.

In conclusion, the speaker referred to the upcoming 40th anniversary of the PRL and the 40th anniversary of the return of the western and northern territories to the mother country--thanks to the sacrifice of blood and sweat on the part of the soldiers of the Polish Army and Soviet Army. This deed as well as the labor invested in rebuilding the country instructs us all to say a definite "no" to the arms race and the undermining of a peaceful order in Europe.

#### The Election of the First Secretary of the KW

Representing the election committee, Ryszard Sulinski, delegate from Stronie Sl. [Slaskie], proposed Jozef Nowak (a member of the PZPR since 1959, former secretary of the KP [county committee] of the PZPR in Legnica, then first secretary of the county committees in Luban Sl. [Slaski], Lubin and Swidnica, and first secretary of the PZPR KW since 1981) for the position of first secretary of the PZPR in Walbrzych, stressing that this candidature was approved by the delegates during the course of preconference consultations. The election committee's proposal was greeted with applause. No other candidates were proposed from the floor. Jozef Nowak was recommended by: Zdzislaw Koziol, a delegate from the Thorez mine, where the first secretary of the KW is a member of OOP [branch party organization] No 12; Henryk Bednarski, representing the Politburo, who emphasized the Walbrzych party organization's sizeable contribution to the achievements of the PZPR; and Jerzy Bialon, also a delegate from the Thorez mine.

The delegates decided to conduct the election for the first secretary of the PZPR KW in a separate procedure, independent of elections for the remaining members of the party leadership. In an election by secret ballot, Jozef Nowak received 288 votes of 296 that were valid.

## Comrade Henryk Bednarski's Speech

"We are half way up the road, between the 9th and 10th PZPR Congresses," the KC secretary stated. "The most difficult period is behind us. The reports-elections campaign confirmed that we are heading in the right direction. The period which has gone by was filled with a substantial realization of social understanding. It was also a period of struggle.

"Using the Walbrzych organization as an example, it can be said that the party is recovering a political work rhythm that is proper to it. It is already a different party than it was at the beginning of the term. The conference testified to the great effort made in strengthening the party's energy for tightening ties with working people.

"However, difficult tasks stand before us," Comrade H. Bednarski reminded us. "Expanding the general social and production activities of working people, the struggle with foes of socialism and our own weaknesses, the party's offensive approach to the masses, careful attention to feelings and views but also getting them into shape in an appropriate manner, all represent one of the largest fronts of this battle. A party that is closely bound to its class and the majority of the working people, that is vigorous organizationally, united ideologically, and sensitive to people's problems, can realize its tasks.

"It is essential to beware of voluntarism, infallibility, arrogance, silver-tongued demagogues, or opportunists in party work. The party is in need of realism. Also, criticism and self-examination allow us to overcome our own errors, and they should not be feared.

"In its work, the party has already gained a foothold with regard to the public's trust. It must be broadened and strengthened. Today, the complexity of socioeconomic conditions of Europe and the contemporary world are more universally visible. In spite of difficulties, a normalization of life is progressing in our country. Production is increasing and, for the first time in 4 years, so is the national income. The restructuring of the economy is progressing and reform is being realized. The trade union movement is developing. It is becoming more and more commonplace for self-government to assume the difficult role in joint management with work establishments."

Next, the secretary of the PZPR KC discussed party members' tasks in strengthening this movement, in inspiring the activities of PRON, and in working with young people. He stressed the meaning of political cooperation between members of the party and allied parties before the upcoming elections to the people's councils. He also called to mind the political implication of the PRL's 40th anniversary festivities, an anniversary which the political foe is attempting to take advantage of in order to undermine the historic socioeconomic changes which have occurred in our country.

In conclusion, Comrade H. Bednarski sent greetings from the PZPR Politburo members Tadeusz Porebski, KC secretary, and Albin Siwak to the participants of the conference.

## The Elections

The conference delegates decided to elect a 100-person PZPR Provincial Committee, 15 KW candidate members and 41 individuals apiece to the Provincial Party Audit Commission and Control Commission. Representing the election commission, Janina Nowak introduced the candidates for provincial party leadership positions. Some of the candidates were recommended by the PZPR KC and some by motions from the floor.

The provincial party leadership was elected in the numbers given above by secret ballot. Edward Remplakowski, chairman of the examination committee, presented the election results. Of 300 delegates in attendance, 298 valid ballots were submitted.

Next, during its first plenary session, the PZPR KW executive leadership was elected: an executive board and secretariat. We are publishing their composition separately.

During the first plenary sessions of the WKKP [Provincial Party Control Commission] and the WKR [Provincial Audit Commission], chairmen were elected. Bogdan Cybulski once again assumed the chairmanship of the WKKP and Jan Wrobel once again became chairman of the WKR.

## Organizational Matters and the Conclusion of the Conference

Apart from Ryszard Najsznerski, the conference was presided over by Genowefa Kusmierek, spinner from the Bieltex ZPB in Bielawa, and Stefan Paterek, mine foreman from the Victoria mine. The working commissions were directed by: Danuta Mika, motions; Zenon Cyktor, elections; mandates by Jozef Redlicki, a delegate from Nowa Ruda who authenticated the validity of the conference (300 of 303 delegates elected were present); and Edward Remplakowski, ballot examination.

\* \* \* \*

After the adoption of the program resolution, the decision on the matter of peace and the final words by Jozef Nowak, first secretary of the PZPR KW, the session was concluded with the singing of the Internationale.

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# RESULTS OF KROSNO PROVINCIAL REPORTS-ELECTIONS CONFERENCE

## Account of Proceedings

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 28-29 Jan 84 pp 1, 2

[Article by Slawomir Balda, Elzbieta Ciaston, Andrzej Raus, Stanislaw Siwak, and Edward Wysz: "The Provincial PZPR Reports-Elections Conference in Krosno; We Are Going to Persevere in The Realization of the Resolutions of the Ninth Party Congress to Serve Working People; Comrade Henryk Wojtal is Reelected Provincial Committee First Secretary"]

[Text] The Fifth Provincial PZPR Reports-Elections Conference was held on 27 Jan 84 in Krosno. It was an important event in the life of the entire Krosno Province party organization. It was preceded by a reports-elections campaign in the lower-level party cells and echelons. It provided an opportunity to evaluate the realization of the program adopted at the last conference. It also indicated the weak side of the province's economy, and lent itself significantly to reactivating party life.

The scope of the accomplishments was presented in reports by the PZPR KW [Provincial Committee], the WKR [Provincial Audit Commission], and the WKKP [Provincial Party Control Commission]. The delegates also received a list of themes of meetings of the provincial echelons and the KW Executive Board, information from the Provincial Office of Statistics and the governor of Krosno concerning the realization of economic tasks during the 1981-1983 period, means of implementing the proposals announced during the reports-elections campaign and supplementary guide books.

On the basis of these documents and their own experiences and perceptions, the delegates were able to form their own views of the province's socioeconomic situation and to draw their own conclusions.

Henryk Wojtal, the PZPR KW first secretary, opened the deliberations. Among the 270 delegates selected to attend the conference, 268 participated and 2 were justifiably excused. Among others, the conference was attended by Zbigniew Michalek, PZPR Central Committee secretary; Stanislaw Wiezien, a member of the CKR [Central Audit Commission] Presidium; Stanislaw Woloszyn, a member of the CKKP [Central Party Control Commission] Presidium; Czeslaw Dega, director of the PZPR Central Committee Foreign Affairs Department; Stanislaw Klos, deputy minister of the chemical and light industry; Kazimierz Szepelak and Jozef Tomczyk, Central Committee members; Jan Skarbowski, CKR member; and Stanislaw Roczniak, CKKP member.

Among others, the invited guest included Eugeniusz Piesniak, chairman of the ZSL WK [Provincial Committee]; Marian Kiechowski, chairman of the SD WK; Stanislaw Kolat, chairman of the WRN [Provincial People's Council]; Jozef Kusiba, chairman of the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] RW [Provincial Council]; and a group of veterans of the worker movement headed by Mieczyslaw Trzesniak.

During the first portion of the conference, members were selected for the conference presidium, the mandate commission, the elections commission and the resolutions and proposals commission. Eugeniusz Rysz, Alojzy Janusz, Jozef Petka and Ryszard Kot chaired the deliberations.

Comrade Henryk Wojtal delivered the introductory paper for the discussion.

After the mandate commission ascertained the validity of the deliberations, the discussion began. Representatives of various occupations and communities participated in the discussions, presenting evaluations and formulating proposals concerning the effectiveness of party work and activities in the socioeconomic sphere.

The discussions were initiated with the speeches of Zenon Slyszyk, an SFA [Sanok Bus Factory] technician, and Jozef Petek, a farmer from Bezmiechow. Then the elections commission announced the candidacy of Henryk Wojtal for PZPR KW first secretary. Comrade Zbigniew Michalek presented the recommendations of the Krosno Province party organization and of the Central Committee Politburo, which also highly recommended Comrade Wojtal's work and positions. Then the selected elections returns commission started its work.

Jan Reczek, chairman of the Provincial Union of Farmers, and Agricultural Circles and Organizations in Krosno, and Wlodzimierz Werminski, a forest inspector in Rymanow, participated in the renewed discussions.

After another break, the elections returns commission presented the election results. In a secret vote in which 262 delegates participated, Comrade Henryk Wojtal was reelected PZPR KW Krosno first secretary. The election was greeted with loud and sincere applause by the conference delegates.

Within the framework of other organizational work, the delegates selected from the floor additional candidates for KW membership and alternate membership as well as candidates for the WKR and WKKP provincial control organs, completing the election list which was sent to the elections returns commission.

Then the following participated in the discussions: Marek Smolinski, commander of the ZHP [Polish Scout Union] troop in Krosno; Tadeusz Ciombor, pensioner and worker movement activist from Leska; Antoni Kedra, a lathe operator from the Graba Mine of the Sanok Oil and Gas Plant; Marian Olczak, chief of the WUSW [Provincial Office of Internal Affairs]; Leszek Kawczynski, chairman of the Sanok MRN [City People's Council]; Roman Biskupski, first secretary of the PZPR KMG [City-Gmina Committee] in Ustrzyki Dolne; Stanislaw Baran, a craftsman at Sanok's Stomil.

A letter from Slovak Communists sent by the East Slovak KPS [Slovak Communist Party] Committee in Koszyce was received with applause. At the suggestion of Stanislaw Wojcik from Jaslo, a telegram expressing sincere party greetings was sent to the presidium of the PZPR provincial reports-elections conference that was being held simultaneously in Katowice. Before the break that preceded the elections to the KW and the control organs, Eugeniusz Plesniak, ZSL WK chairman, and Marian Kiechowski, SD WK chairman, participated in the discussions in which they presented problems that require even closer interparty cooperation to merge efforts to resolve the pressures of the crisis more quickly and to strengthen the idea of national understanding. They urged the delegates to draft a constructive program to further develop Krosno Province.

Further on in the discussion the following participated: Aleksander Barnicki, PZPR KMG first secretary in Biecz; Zbigniew Braja, ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] ZW [Provincial Board] chairman; Karolina Wojtowicz, director of the Gmina Comprehensive School in Biecz; Jan Kopczyk, a farmer from the gmina of Harczow; Zbigniew Balik, director of the Sub-Carpathian Refinery Plants in Jaslo; Mieczyslaw Gaborski, a pensioner from the gmina of Domaradz; Wladyslaw Zola, a PKP [Polish State Railroad] worker from Jaslo; Maria Zielonka, deputy director of the Gmina Comprehensive School in Zarszyna; Tadeusz Kruk, governor of Krosno Province; Jan Skarbowski, SFA chief engineer and CKR member; and Jozef Kusiba, who, in the name of PRON activists, wished the conference participants fruitful deliberations and who expressed the belief that realizing the program developed at the conference will lend itself to improving further the welfare of the residents of the Sub-Carpathian region.

The speech of Stefan Witkowski, PGR [State Farm] director in Dukla, concluded the conference.

Zbigniew Michalek, PZPR Central Committee secretary, also participated in the discussions. We will present his speech and those of the other participants as well as all the remaining material of the conference in the next issue of NOWINY.

Then the results of the PZPR KW, WKR, the WKKP elections were announced. The results of the elections for KW Executive Board members and secretaries, and the chairmen and members of the WKR and WKKP presidiums, were also announced.

Over 30 separate telegrams were sent to the conference presidium by institutions, workplaces and private individuals.

The PZPR KW Executive Board and Secretariat were selected at the first plenary session of the provincial echelons. The WKR and WKKP were also formed; Jozef Drwiega was reelected WKR chairman and Dominik Arendarczyk was reelected WKKP chairman. Henryk Wojtal, PZPR KW first secretary, spoke at the conclusion of the deliberations. Then those present sang the Internationale.

The PZPR KW Secretariat in Krosno Province consists of Wieslaw Kalucki, PZPR KW first secretary, and the following secretaries: Stanislaw Roczniak, Jan Luczynski and Ryszard Staczek.

The PZPR Executive Board consists of:

- Stanislaw Behen, an electromechanic at the Naftomet ZUN in Krosno;
- Jerzy Dabrowski, director of the Krosno Glass Works;
- Alojzy Janusz, PZPR KZ [Plant Committee] first secretary at the Gamrat ZTS [Transportation Equipment Plant] in Jaslo;
- Jan Jozefczyk, a welder at the Krosno WSK;
- Antoni Kedra, a lathe operator at the Graby Mine at the Sanok Mining, Oil and Gas Enterprise;
- Antoni Lapka, an iron worker at the Oil Refinery in Jedlicze;
- Marian Olczak, WUSW chief in Krosno;
- Karol Paraniak, a forestry worker in Lutowiska;
- Jozef Petka, a farmer from Bezmiechowa Dolna;
- Eugeniusz Rysz, PZPR KZ first secretary at the SFA;
- Karolina Wojtowicz, director of the Gmina Comprehensive School in Biecz;
- Wladyslaw Ziembicki, SFA worker.

#### First Secretary's Speech

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 28-29 Jan 84 p 3

[Article: "The Possibility of Overcoming the Crisis Is Inherent in the Prevailing, Collective and Joint Efforts of the Working People; Summary of the Speech Delivered by Henryk Wojtal, PZPR Provincial Committee First Secretary"]

[Text] "We are meeting today," the PZPR KW first secretary said initially, "so that with the end of the last term of office we can thoroughly evaluate our work and the extent to which the resolutions of the Ninth PZPR Congress, the previous reports-elections conference and the reports-program conference have been realized."

#### In the Spirit of the Party Line on Struggle, Understanding and Reform

"From the perspective of time, it can be said that the main goal of our activity was and continues to be the party line on struggle, understanding and reform that was formulated at our party's Ninth Congress and to which we were faithful. After all, the policy was implemented fully. And it is worthwhile to remember here that the sociopolitical situation in Poland was very complicated, despite the fact that Krosno Province was among the relatively peaceful regions. The sub-Carpathian region also was an arena of political struggle, social conflict and various types of protest actions that occurred for this or that reason.



"After the Ninth Congress, more and more social groups began to perceive the essence of our party's program and its significance to the country and nation. The political opponent felt threatened by this, and thus he intensified action and exacerbated enemy propaganda, telling many lies and mouthing demagogic slogans. Solidarity's regional publication, the instigation of protest actions among farmers of Bieszczady, and the physical and mental terror, of which Krosno's Polmo is an example, are but a few of the examples of the unmistakably hostile and seditious activity.

"Under such circumstances, the KW took action designed above all to strengthen the ideological aktiv, to arm it with political arguments to combat the opponent. The imposition of martial law was a turning point in the sociopolitical life and economy and in the party's activities in the sub-Carpathian region. The direct threat to internal security was eliminated, and peace and law and order returned to our cities, villages and workplaces; the growing wave of criminality was stopped.

"Thanks to the attitudes of the aktiv and the sensibility of the working class, we could and can resolve not only our current problems in the province but we can also think about the future."

In thanking the soldiers of the Polish People's Army, the functionaries of the Citizens' Militia and the Security Service, and all the aktivs and veterans of the workers' struggle, the speaker expressed respect for workers, farmers, the intelligentsia, youth and all those who through their actions brought about the beneficial changes that have occurred and are occurring in Krosno Province. All of us must profit daily from the experiences of this difficult period.

In listing the political-propaganda characteristics of the activities of the province's party organization, the PZPR KW first secretary emphasized that to improve the effectiveness of the political struggle and to influence in general the region's residents, primary action must be focused on strengthening the party's organization and ideology. During the last term many nonideological, indifferent and double-dealing people were gotten rid of. In fact, this process reduced party membership in the province from 32,000 to about 24,000, but it also was an element in strengthening the party's primary cells. Today the party's provincial organization is a more cohesive organization that is winning the approval of an increasing number of work crews. Thus, party unity must always be maintained, and observing the qualitative criteria of the evaluations of the attitudes and behavior of party members must go hand and hand with consequences and obduracy. We must continue to devote more attention to the leadership and activity of party members in the community, especially at the workplace, because if there is to be talk about winning back the authority of the party organization and the entire party and about winning the trust of working people, then the attitudes of party members are of decisive significance here.

The changes that have occurred in the level of activities of members and the POP's [basic party organizations] were quite obvious during the course of the reports-elections campaign. Much attention is being dedicated in papers, discussions, resolutions and action programs to strengthening party organizations and to increasing their influence in the workplaces, in the villages and cities

and in individual communities. Our party organizations demonstrate that they exist to solve problems that rankle our workplace crews and residents of the region. They also demonstrate that they are very concerned about the province and its economy and about living and working conditions. Thus, the conducted campaign is a warrant to rebuild the leading role of the party and the ideological-political links that bind its members.

At many meetings and conferences, attention was devoted to the weak activity of the rural organizations and activists in the small plants and in some cooperatives. The low level of activity at meetings, the non-enforcement of discipline, not assigning individual tasks and insufficient control over task execution are among the most frequently mentioned errors. The concern about improving the operations of party groups, about the effectiveness of organizational political activities and about improving the level of cadre training and education are expressed in resolutions and in the critical work evaluations. The campaign also demonstrated our party's great concern about expanding democracy and increasing the activity of workers and farmers.

#### The Struggle for People's Viewpoints and Attitudes

Accenting the need to improve the intraparty information system, the speaker then focused his attention on problems of ideological work and the effective struggle for people's viewpoints and attitudes, which will not change on their own but must be shaped actively.

The practical implementation of the ideals of socialism in all areas of economic, political and social life, and concern about maintaining the identity of ideology based on the incontrovertible results of the theory of Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary traditions of the Polish workers movement, underscore the need to strengthen ties with the working class and with all working people. Thus, in the process of implementing the resolutions of the Ninth Plenum of the Central Committee, we initiated many new tasks and solutions that will permit the rapid and efficient resolution of problems submitted by the province's residents. The increasing number of appeals sent directly to the PZPR KW and the primary echelons is proof of the progress being made in building public trust in the party. Many difficult problems concern the housing industry, the local economy, housing management, the critical comments of farmers about the unjust systems for distributing production resources, inefficiency, waste, speculation and transgressing the elementary principles of community life. These direct contacts must be expanded and publicized because, thanks to them, we have been able to eliminate effectively many injustices and shortcomings without formalism and in a much shorter time. The leadership cadres must play an important role in counter-acting negative phenomena in our life. Therefore, improving the party's cadre policy is an especially important and responsible task of the echelons and organization.

The results of efforts to normalize social life and to make the province's economy function efficiently are influencing the creation of a front for national understanding and unity of efforts to lead the country out of the economic crisis. The increasingly closer cooperation with the ZSL and the SD

is serving this purpose better and better. The PRON has become a broad base for social action. Its sub-Carpathian cell is initiating activities more boldly, which indicates that the possibility of overcoming the crisis is inherent in the prevailing, collective and joint efforts of working people. We will support these activities, and party members must continue to maintain the class formula of the movement.

Worker self-governments and the newly organized trade unions have an important role to play in expanding the base of social action to implement the party line on national understanding and in defending the interests of working people. The trade union movement in Krosno Province is gradually but systematically increasing its scope of activity. As of today it has enrolled 41,000 workers or 36 percent of all those employed in our province's socialized industry. In some communities this organization index is much higher, for example, teachers, the workers at the Mining, Oil and Gas Plants in Krosno and Sanok, the Gamrat Plastics Plants in Jaslo and the sub-Carpathian Refinery Plants. The overall data indicates that over 60 percent of the trade unionists are workers, which is proof of the character of the movement and its proper place in the life of the work forces in plants and enterprises. Despite these positive examples, further inspirational actions are essential because the 8,000 PZPR members in the trade union cells cannot be considered to be satisfactory.

As a key element of the socialist democratic system, the work of people's councils is an essential and important factor for encouraging social action and uniting the residents of communities to make realistic decisions concerning socioeconomic life. This obligates our party to fulfill the leadership function in representative organs and territorial self-government, which is associated with true representation on the councils and self-government which will be decided by this year's elections. The political experiences of the past years emphasize the responsibility that is associated with elections to councils and make the elections exceptionally significant. For the party they will be an important affirmation of the party's solidarity and ability to work with people.

To create conditions for stabilizing and overcoming the crisis, the activities of social organizations and scientific-technical organizations, for example, the League of Polish Women, the Rural Housewives' Circles, the NOT [Chief Technical Organization] scientific-technical associations and the Polish Economic Association, will be very important.

During the last term, we placed much importance and emphasis on affairs concerning the younger generation. The ZSMP, the ZMW [Rural Youth Union], the "Wici" and the ZHP became the organizers of youth participation in social and political life, permitting the generation they represent to combine desires, aspirations and needs. We will continue to support youth organizations to prepare the younger generation to fulfill their civic and patriotic duties.

In transmitting to young people true historical, ideological and technical knowledge, and in shaping its internationalistic attitudes, we must see to it that the schools are of a socialist and secular character. They should not be used to inculcate the younger generation with ideas and views that are contrary to the principles of our system.

## In the Sociopolitical Sphere

In presenting a program to the people to overcome the crisis, our party's Ninth Congress forcefully emphasized that realizing the tasks of the congress will depend eventually on production results, on the efficiency of management and on the effective implementation of the economic reform.

Based on the Leninist principle of unity of ideology, politics and economics, we have devoted much activity to the province's economy. The extensive scope of party and administration action taken in the plants and enterprises had an effect in that the drop in industrial production was halted in 1982. Beginning in July 1982, many plants showed a significant increase in the number of goods manufactured. Despite last year's difficulties and problems, the situation continues to improve. Compared to last year, production increased in the sub-Carpathian region by 10.5 percent in 1983, even with fewer workers.

However, despite the beneficial and positive trends and the events in the economy as a whole, we have noted little effective action in some plants and enterprises. We are not satisfied with the efforts to increase production for market and to increase exports. In addition, the quality of goods and products made by us evokes justified reservations. Properly using the know-how of the engineering-technical cadres and the still significant production potential continue to be serious problems. Also, we must constantly combat waste, inefficiency, lack of discipline and other negative phenomena. Presently, when the primary political struggle revolves about the economic sphere, the need to improve the role and status of the POP's and OOP's [branch party organizations] in the plants and enterprises takes on additional significance.

## Agriculture and the Food Economy--Basic Branches of the Economy

We have devoted much attention in our party tasks and initiatives to the problem of assuring self-sufficiency in food. Among the primary problems considered by our province's echelons is the concern about the rational use of land, primarily PFZ [State Land Fund] land, and land at the disposal of agricultural circles. We are concerned about full compliance with regulations, safeguarding of agricultural and forest lands and the proper productive utilization of some agricultural objects. Local industrial enterprises provided much help to agriculture by initiating the production of a number of machines and implements. We are still waiting for other enterprises and units to follow the lead of the Sanok Bus Factory, the Polmo Damping Devices Factory in Krosno, the Gamrat ZTS in Jaslo and the Elektromet Cooperative in Brzozowie.

We recognized that a very important problem is the need to develop new systems and new organizational and economic-production solutions that will ensure the proper development of agriculture and farms in the mountain areas.

## The Ninth Congress Program, Pointing the Way to Further Action

The past period confirmed the fundamental significance of system reforms and the program of the Ninth PZPR Congress. It continues to point the way to further action and is an unshakeable platform for strengthening our party and socialism

in Poland. The people acknowledge and support the direction of the struggle for social justice and the elimination of phenomena that are contrary to socialist social relations and the principles of community life. The region's residents are aware of the gradual improvement in supplies and have a high opinion of actions to defend the interests of the economically weakest social groups.

In the jubilee year of People's Poland, we must do everything so that the celebrations and festivals of the 40th anniversary go down in the latest history of Poland as especially distinguishable. This will be determined above all by work, productive work to strengthen the state that will assure it strength and internal peace. After all, only a strong Poland can make a constructive contribution to the struggle for peace, detente and universal security.

11899

CSO: 2600/687

## RESULTS OF LEGNICA PROVINCIAL ELECTIONS REPORTED

### Provincial Committee Plenary Meeting

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 28-29 Jan 84 p 1

[Text] The first plenary meeting of the newly elected PZPR Provincial Committee took place yesterday in Legnica. The meeting was chaired by Comrade Jerzy Wilk, first secretary of the Provincial Committee.

In a secret ballot the Executive Board and secretaries of the Provincial Committee were elected. Their names will follow separately.

Next, plans were approved for the activities of the Provincial Committee and Executive Board. The plans were the outcome of the decisions of the Provincial Reports-Elections Conference. Following are the subjects for a number of future plenary meetings of the Provincial Committee: an outline of the efforts of the provincial party organization in the area of health care in the province; the direction of party activities for the working class; the development of small-scale industry and services.

At the same time problem committees of the PZPR Provincial Committee were formed and their chairmen were elected.

The chairman of the intraparty commission will be Ryszard Awlaszewicz, first secretary of the PZPR Gmina Committee in Warta Boleslawiecka; the chairman of the youth commission will be Jerzy Kukula, gmina manager in Legnickie Pole; the chairman of the ideological commission will be Andrzej Paderewski, chief mechanic in charge of foundries of the KGHM in Lublin; the chairman of the commission for food administration will be Henryk Nowak, director of the Jawor Sugar Mill; the chairman of the commission for small-scale industry will be Jan Uniatowicz, first secretary of the PZPR Plant Committee in the Lubin Mining Enterprise; the chairman of the commission for health care and environmental protection will be Bernard Lecki, bookkeeper in a pharmacy in Scinawa; the chairman of the economic commission will be Aleksander Nowak, director of Public Roads in Legnica; the chairman of the commission of complaints and resolutions will be retired PKP worker in Legnica, Kazimierz Stefanek. In addition, there will be a commission acting on behalf of the functionaries of the labor movement under the direction of retiree Tadeusz Cyborowski.

At their first meetings the above committees are expected to complete their membership by taking in specialists from outside of the PZPR Provincial Committee.

#### Provincial Committee Officers

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 28-29 Jan 84 p 1

[Article: "The Executive Board and Secretaries of the Provincial Committee in Legnica"]

[Text] The following are the secretaries of the PZPR Provincial Committee in Legnica who were reelected: Piotr Czaja, Krzysztof Jez, Zbigniew Korpaczewski and Jerzy Szczepaniak.

All the secretaries became members of the Executive Board of the Provincial Committee. The others who also became members are: Adam Bartnik, department chief of the civil defense detachment in the Elpo Clothing Industry Plant in Legnica, POP first secretary; Andrzej Bednarczyk, director of the Health Care Association in Glogow; Maria Czech, sorter in the Dolzamet Agricultural Machine Factory in Chojnow; Andrzej Domino, metallurgical department foreman in the Glogow Copper Mine; Krzysztof Dziura, private farmer from Targoszyn in the gmina of Msciwojow; Jozef Jarkiewicz, brigadeer in the Energy Plants in Legnica; Zygmunt Korbuszewski, mining equipment electrician in the Rudna Mining Enterprise in Polkowice; Wladyslaw Kotula, director of the State Agricultural Administration Enterprises in Jarzmanowa; Janusz Maciejewicz, director general of the KGHM in Lubin; Zdzislaw Nawara, officer in the Polish Army; Henryk Nowak, director of the Jawor Sugar Mill; Kazimierz Plaza, miner of the Lubin Mining Enterprise.

Jerzy Wilk, who was elected first secretary at the Provincial Reports-Elections Conference, also became a member of the Executive Board of the PZPR Provincial Committee.

12470

CSO: 2600/682

# RESULTS OF JELENIA GORA PROVINCIAL PLENUM REPORTED

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 18 Jan 84 pp 1, 2

[Text] Three days after the PZPR Provincial Reports-Elections Conference in Jelenia Gora members of the new PZPR Provincial Committee convened for their inaugural plenary session. The main point of this meeting was the election of a new Executive Board and secretaries of the PZPR Provincial Committee for the next term.

Jerzy Golis, elected at the conference as first secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee (38 years old, party member since 1967, college graduate in economics), recommended the following comrades for the posts of secretaries and executive members of the PZPR Provincial Committee: Sylwester Samol (43 years old, party member since 1964, college graduate in sociology), Boleslaw Plaza (38 years old, party member since 1975, college graduate in mining), Boguslaw Stepien (39 years old, party member since 1971, college graduate in chemistry), and Andrzej Kaminski (33 years old, party member since 1969, college graduate in agriculture). All the above occupied those positions during the previous term.

In addition, Jerzy Golis recommended the following candidates for membership on the PZPR Provincial Committee: Jelenia Gora Governor Jerzy Galoczynski (48 years old, party member since 1959, college graduate, deputy to the Sejm); Tadeusz Jemiolo, superintendent of the Military Academy of Radiotechnology (43 years old, party member since 1961, college graduate, brigadier general, member of the PZPR Central Committee); Waldemar Maciejczuk, chief of the Provincial Office of Internal Affairs (53 years old, party member since 1949, college graduate, militia colonel); Mieczyslaw Brygilewicz, mechanic in the Floreta Silk Textile Mill in Kamienna Gora (39 years old, party member since 1967, incomplete high school education); Kazimierz Janicki, managing director of the Famago Open Pit Mining Machinery Plant in Zgorzelec, (51 years old, party member since 1962, college graduate); Edward Kazmierski, mechanic from the Luban Cotton Industry Mills (56 years old, party member since 1948, elementary education, member of the PZPR Central Committee); Stanislaw Kalak, managing director of the Przyborsk Ceramic Industry Mills in Gieraltow near Nowogrodziec (47 years old, party member since 1959, college graduate);



Adam Kruszewski, private farmer from the village of Sokolowiec in the gmina of Swierzawa (35 years old, party member since 1969, high school education); Stefan Lenartowicz, chief of surgery at the hospital in Gryfow (46 years old, party member since 1965, college graduate); Eugeniusz Salecki, first secretary of the PZPR City Committee in Jelenia Gora (49 years old, party member since 1955, college graduate); Eugeniusz Jurek, chief forester from Swieradow Zdroj (46 years old, party member since 1966, college graduate); and Gerard Swistulski, first secretary of the PZPR City-Gmina Committee in Bogotyna (42 years old, party member since 1963, college graduate).

Nominated from the floor for membership in the Executive Board of the PZPR Provincial Committee was Janusz Rybicki, private farmer and first secretary of the Gmina Committee of the PZPR in Stara Kamienica (52 years old, party member since 1959, high school graduate).

In a secret ballot the following people were elected to the 17-members Executive Board of the PZPR Provincial Committee, besides Jerzy Golis: Sylwester Samol, Boleslaw Plaza, Boguslaw Stepien, Andrzej Kaminski, Mieczyslaw Brygilewicz, Edward Kazmierski and Stanislaw Kalak--for the second time, and Jerzy Golaczynski, Tadeusz Jemiolo, Waldemar Maciejczuk, Kazimierz Janicki, Adam Kruszewski, Stefan Lenartowicz, Eugeniusz Salecki, Eugeniusz Jurek and Gerard Swistulski--for the first time.

A total of 75 out of the 81 members of the PZPR Provincial Committee elected at the conference took part in the debates. They announced at the plenum in which of the 10 problem committees of the PZPR Provincial Committee they will do volunteer work.

PZPR Provincial Committee Secretariat:

Jerzy Golis, first secretary; Sylwester Samol, secretary in charge of organization; Boleslaw Plaza, secretary in charge of ideology; Boguslaw Stepien, secretary in charge of economy; Andrzej Kaminski, secretary in charge of agriculture.

12470

CSO: 2600/683

REPORTS-ELECTIONS CAMPAIGN SUMMED UP

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 4, 15 Feb 84 p 2

[Article by Tadeusz Kolodziejczyk; material enclosed between slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] The voivodship conferences have come to an end, thereby concluding the party reports-elections campaign. The Central Committee brought this first campaign since the Ninth Congress to its final close at its 15th plenary meeting. Here evaluations were made and recommendations were drawn for the future work of the entire party.

Before discussing those recommendations, I would like to share my personal observations from the final stage of the campaign--the voivodship conferences. I took part in many of them and my colleagues on the editorial staff participated in all of them. Their reports, included in this issue, and our editorial staff discussions on the course of the conferences prompt the reader to make a number of reflections regarding party workers. While they are certainly subjective, they are based upon objective premises.

It was said at every voivodship conference (as well as at lower level conferences and meetings), even in the opening reports, that "this was a difficult term." But that was not mere rhetoric or embellishment: it was the feeling of all, evidenced by the individual and collective idea of the experiences of party groups since 1981, the drama of the winter of 1982 and the stubborn regaining of the trust of the party's own class and then of society, through the present day. We spare ourselves the details of the struggles and the strife of those years. We have them so well recorded upon our hearts and minds that we do not need to call them up over and over.

That is why the assertions made at the conferences about /strengthening the party and about the cohesiveness of party ranks/, though smacking of the stereotype, were so believable. If our power is measured by our ability to embark upon specific social and economic tasks and by our control of organizational structures, the strengthening of the party is a fact. To put it more aptly: /the process of strengthening the party is far advanced./

At each of the voivodship conferences, it was noted that the voivodship organizations had declined in numbers. What this represented, however, was interpreted in different ways: "It is good that we are smaller," "It is unfortunate that people left us," "We are operating more effectively because we have gotten rid of our dead weight" and "Despite our losses, we have managed to pull ourselves together." It is not bad, if the various assessments emanate from different realities, that there is not one general stereotype applied to every situation in every milieu. This proves that the truth of life has also been revealed in our thinking about life.

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The political and ideological dimension of the voivodship conferences was defined most fully by the assessments, the directions and the tasks derived directly from the achievements of the 13th KC [Central Committee] Plenum.

Teachers and workers, filmmakers and sales clerks, factory steerers and steering wheel manipulators spoke /of ideology and lofty policy at the conferences./ This would seem to mean that ideology has regained its citizenship in the party and has become broadly propagated.

There is some doubt however, whether it is yet a force that has taken hold of the masses, in this case the party masses, since /the universal transfer of its lofty content into daily attitudes is lacking./ Ideological identity is conceived of verbally; it is manifested as a profession of principles and not as a force underlying individual actions. Rarely was there any in-depth, self-critical consideration at the conferences of how to overcome this barrier /between party theory and practice among its members./ On the other hand, it was often pointed out that there exists a hiatus between the systems-type principles of socialism and the practice of Polonia-type firms, private profiteers and the neo-bourgeoisie. These are also evils, but in a completely different, nonparty bailiwick.

/Problems of the economy were examined significantly more comprehensively and practically at the conferences./ Less attention was devoted to achievements than to ways of satisfying the tremendous needs of society. Economic reform within the plant reality, the living and working standards of the people, farm and market production and the workings of education and medical care--these were the spheres of the questions that the delegates addressed freely and competently. The term "economic debate," if not used thus far, lends itself well to this area of conference discussions, in which concern, criticism, ingenuity and provident care attested to the economic treatment of the raw material of life.

Perhaps it was merely this provident care that dictated the too frequent proposals and demands for new funds and investments exceeding the potential of the state that is still battling the crisis. Certainly those that made such proposals understood that adding to the number of tasks runs counter to the austerity policy, belt-tightening and anti-inflation policy being conducted by the party; nonetheless, the pressure of the real needs of the community led them to take their part in this "concert of wishes." This is a real dilemma for local party workers.

I propose that we take a look at the voivodship conference as a sort of theatre in which act follows act (with the curtain opened, of course), roles are assigned and a happy ending crowns all the hard work. If we remember past conferences, we see that this last series /lacked the characteristics of a stage presentation/ and diversions were not provided by scout delegations or folk dance groups performing during breaks between deliberations. Nor were there the ceaseless "formal questions," the voting or the rejoinders and the rejoinders to the rejoinders that characterized previous conferences. While they lost their theatricality, they gained in concentrating on substantive issues.

The only external accent was provided by telegrams and letters of greeting from party organizations and factories that were read by the chairmen. If written out of a need to support the delegates, they are praiseworthy, but if sent from a desire to mark one's presence--well, they were read anyway.

An important part of each conference is /the evaluation of the outgoing officials/. In my opinion, in practice /this conference function was not exploited enough./ It is not even that there were no restrictions made at the conferences on criticism addressed to the KW [Voivodship Committee] (ministers, the government, various institutions and general policy in some particular field were readily criticized), but that a real assessment should be made of the committee, its executive board and the methods and style of work of the secretaries, for they know before the conference not only /what/ they have done but /how/ they have done it. It would be natural to make a public evaluation of these officials--their qualifications, attitudes and results--and not the evaluation that is made for the first time by a delegate sitting face to face with the list of candidates. At such a time, one's merits are not necessarily the major consideration.

While with regard to the KW and its executive board evaluations were expressed indirectly (in discussions on the directions of the work of the voivodship organization and in analyses of the neglect of certain fields and the like), not even indirect assessments were made of the WKR [Voivodship Review Commission] and the WKKP [Voivodship Party Control Commission].

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/The election of the party authorities and control officials/ is an integral part of the conferences. Public opinion, and not only the party, is intensely interested in each of these elections, and often the elections to leadership positions turn the community upside down. The compulsory secret balloting adds an element of the unexpected, essential both for those elected and the voters. The result is that all changes in the authorities thus understood in such a living political organism as the party evoke waves of commentary and often simplistic opinions.

Thus, it is no wonder that, compared with the 1981 reports-elections campaign, in a different political situation in the country and in the party, a different group of delegates elected a different group of comrades to the authorities.

At successive stages of the campaign, concern over the proper /share of workers in the authorities/ was clear. This did not succeed everywhere, although negative changes at the lower levels were not striking. Nonetheless, workers represent 27.1 percent of the present members of the KW compared with 19.9 percent in 1981. The improvement is evident.

/Changes in leadership positions/ are always the most spectacular. They were followed carefully after each conference and people combed their newspapers for changes in the staffing of the positions of KW secretaries and WKKP and WKR chairmen. Such interest is understandable.

Let us note, then, how many new KW secretaries were elected: 4 first secretaries, 10 organizational secretaries, 20 ideological secretaries, 4 agricultural secretaries and 3 educational affairs secretaries. Obviously, it is worthwhile to consider the reasons for the changes, distinguishing the facts of /nonelection/ from the facts of /noncandidacy/ with regard to previous secretaries and learning the reasons for resignations, including personal reasons.

The changes in chairmanships are more extensive: there are 21 new WKR chairmen and 18 new WKKP chairmen. We should not yield to our initial emotional conclusions but aspire to learn the real motives that guided voters.

Yet another election curiosity: 46 voivodship conferences chose the KW first secretary directly from among those assembled, before the KW election. Only in Bydgoszcz and Szczecin did the conferences choose from the body of KW members and only in Warsaw did the KW elect the first secretary from its own body.

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Among the myriad of thoughts that flood one's mind after the conferences is this one: /when the conference fever subsides and the election emotions abate, the time comes to reflect upon the sphere of the mechanisms of the party's internal life. They are mechanisms that operate out of the will, the attitudes and the forbearance of every PZPR member; situated amid his own specific set of realities./

8536

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PARTY ACTIVITY SINCE NINTH CONGRESS EVALUATED

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish Nov-Dec 83 pp 5-12

[Article by Stanislaw Opalko: "Following the Line of the Historic Congress"]

[Text] The 2 years that have passed since the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress deliberated represent a very brief period in historical terms. But if we measure the significance of this difficult and complex period in the life of our party and the state and its importance for the entire period of the almost 40 years of People's Poland, it assumes a special dimension. This was a period in which the party and the state authority came to wage the most severe struggle of the postwar years, fought to preserve socialism and to implement the process of the profound reform of internal life and of the entire system of exercising authority. The deliberations and the resolutions of the Ninth Extraordinary Party Congress laid out the direction of these activities. A priority issue identified in these deliberations and resolutions was the full implementation of the process of renewing sociopolitical life and of the reform program, as well as the preservation and strengthening of the party's leadership role and the socialist path of the country's development. The party recognized that this is the only road to take to bring the country out of the political and economic crisis.

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Following the 2-year period that has elapsed since the historic Ninth PZPR Extraordinary Congress, what can we say at the level of the entire nation and the party? First, it is still too soon today to make overall evaluations and to formulate definitive suggestions. The complex process of our emergence from the crisis continues. The undeniable progress attained in this direction in the area of rebuilding society's confidence in the authorities and creating planes of national understanding, as well as restoring rhythm to the economy cannot obscure for us the complexity of the tasks that continually face the party.

Today, however, it is possible to isolate those groups of recommendations that have been tested by means of the experiences of the past few stormy years and that we must put into practice consistently in our work.

The problem of molding public awareness, particularly that of the younger generation, remains a fundamental issue. Here I do not have in mind the

narrowly understood subordinating of this process to the current political goals being implemented by the socialist authorities. I am speaking of the formation of that kind of public awareness, based upon the knowledge and experiences afforded us by history, that will promote the socialist changes that are implemented, the understanding of what determines them and the active opposition to departures from socialism and to activities that are openly inimical to this system.

Our experiences during the present crisis confirm how very susceptible we are both as a society and as the party to extreme, emotional assessments that have nothing in common with conclusions drawn from the experience of generations. The post-August period likewise showed us how readily society lets slip the boundaries between valid criticism and the tendency to eliminate departures from socialism, and the conscious or unconscious support of the activities of its enemies. This is fostered by our national susceptibility to yield to emotion and to arouse political passions at times when, for the most serious national reasons, we must think and act prudently. Unfortunately, this happens despite the fact that, with the passage of time, the sharply defined political divisions from the postwar period ought to disappear, and the consciousness of the younger generations of Poles ought to favor the building of socialism.

We have behind us the nearly 40-year history of the activities of the people's state. Our party, allied with the ZSL and the SD, has assumed the major burden of creating the new socialist system in our country. Along this road, it has been confronted, and is being confronted, with obstacles that emanate both from the remnants of the capitalist system and from objective and subjective difficulties, as well as from errors committed during the process of the building of socialism. The class struggle assumes various shapes and forms. It continues to the present, its intensity different and, in many cases, its opponent different as well.

The history of People's Poland is a period of tremendous development in all areas of our statehood. However, there have also been slip-ups and mistakes scrupulously used by our opponent in battle against the party and the state authority. For these slip-ups, in 1956, 1968, 1970 and 1980, our party and the authorities have been attacked and criticized. During these crisis years, the party's achievements and the tremendous input of party members into the development of the socialist state have been ignored. Meanwhile, the party has been spoken of as the primary source of errors and distortions, most often in a far from objective manner.

True, we live in a society that is still not fully convinced about the party, its work and its ideological-political and economic program. But it is characteristic of the present crisis that attacks upon the party and socialism have assumed the sharpest nature, and society, particularly the younger generation, has been ready to believe assessments and accusations that are extreme and often have been prepared to be used in the political battle against socialism.

These characteristics of the current crisis, manifesting themselves ever more acutely with regard to 1956, 1968 and 1970, pose a kind of open question about the effectiveness of the entire educational system in our socialist state. An appraisal of the factual value and appropriateness of many educational activities requires, then, that there be profound and penetrating research on the subject. There is substantial indication that the system of education lacks uniformity and often even contains internal contradictions. For example, the intellectual growth, the increase of knowledge and the general raising of the consciousness of the young generations have not been accompanied by correct progress in historical and national awareness. Then, too, the graduates of our high schools and of our higher schools as well in our socialist state often demonstrate elementary gaps in their attitudes and knowledge about Marxism. This is accompanied by oversimplified appraisals and judgments.

We often assert: let the young person choose his own ideology, the one he finds appropriate for himself. But in order to choose, one must know well the values among which he chooses. For example, the church, for centuries, has been doing this well. First it trains the child by awakening an emotional attachment to the church. The growing child is introduced to the knowledge of religion. Daily and Sunday services are at the same time a well-considered school. The church tells one to believe in doctrines and dogmas. In exchange for faith, the church responds with a promise of a better life after death.

Does the system of education of our socialist state effectively serve in the formation of attitudes that favor coming to know and evaluate the values and ideals of socialism, beginning with childhood, through youth and mature society? Certainly not. And that, from many points of view.

Mention may be made here of too frequent changes in the selection of goals and methods that bring about contrary effects to those desired, especially in maturing youth. One has to see the frequently drastic disparity among some teachers between their attitudes and convictions and the ideals and values they are obliged to awaken among the youth.

We are the Marxist party and the party of the masses as well. One's acceptance into the party is not sufficiently contingent upon one's world view and Marxist stance. We accept the best, the most honest, and rightly so. Often such comrades, however, have no knowledge about the foundations of Marxism. We are trying to fill these gaps of knowledge through ideological work within the party, and especially through the system of training. Too often, however, the various forms of this training reduce themselves to forms of information that cover economic issues, educational issues or other issues alone that are within the field of interest of selected listeners, according to their occupation or the function they perform. Thus, it may be said that party training exists, but that its results are negligible compared with needs.

Coursework produces better results, but it involves primarily the full-time employees of the apparatus and small groups of the functioning aktiv. Training within the WUML [Evening University of Marxism-Leninism] has its role to play, but an insignificant percentage of party members completes this program. Training is conducted on the proper level in the military, but this affects only a part of the party members functioning there.



Party members and society are both improperly prepared to understand the ideas of socialism and to incorporate them into life. As leaders of our society, we always must bear in mind that the fundamental condition for shaping society's understanding and support of party policy is a solid familiarity with the aims of party activity and with socialist truths in general. Party members must ground themselves firmly in Marxist assumptions in order to be able to defend them. They also must be conscious that the obligation to defend these assumptions stems from the very fact of party membership. Our society, lacking familiarity with the fundamentals of our system and its rules, selects, and will tend to select, the good aspects of our system, those that satisfy its interests. From that selection, our society formulates a catalog of obligations of our government with respect to the nation. In that state of affairs, the government, however, is susceptible not only to just criticism of errors and perversions, but also to unjust accusations--prompted by the enemies of socialism. These promptings are structured in a disordered fashion. And thus, for example, attacks on the authorities are premised on a false representation of the citizen's obligations to the state, obligations that are portrayed as limiting rights and freedoms or as exploitation. Simultaneously, there is silence about the fact that in every country there is an existing connection between rights and obligations, between the distribution of wealth and its prior accumulation through work. The party's experiences in its operations after August demonstrate a high degree of unpreparedness for defending its own arguments. I am not attacking rank-and-file members, least of all those that, while they did not defend the party decisively against its enemy, yet remained in party ranks, despite the pressure.

This phenomenon has deeper roots. Many coinciding factors contributed to the serious deficiency in party ideological work. During the 1970's, the propaganda activist model gained the upper hand in formative work, a model chiefly characterized by an uncritical praising and propagandizing of all state government and administration activities.

Following August 1980, the PZPR took the blame for deviations from Marxism-Leninism--and justly. But at the same time, it took the blame for all errors in economic management and every aspect of life in our state. In the heat of accusations, part of the rank-and-file party membership passed over into the camp of organizers of the attack on the leadership of the particular party elements. That membership faction included former activists of the ideological front.

Demagoguery started to gain the ascendancy over reason. A well-prepared political opposition joined forces in a precise fashion with the critics everywhere of everything that related to party activity. We were criticized and, frequently, we criticized each other with vehemence. Often enough, these waves of criticism were sustained by state control elements that, anxious about their own positions, held back in part documents that, already earlier, had discredited certain people. At that point, these elements went into action on various levels. Blame was attributed solely to party members. I am not defending the guilty.

There is no need to defend the serious errors made by many people that formerly played leadership roles, namely, their arrogance, voluntarism and contempt for society. On the other hand, I do defend the principle we have talked about repeatedly, but have failed to implement in the party: to separate ourselves at the right time from incompetents and people laden with faults and negative traits. Failing to implement this principle, we undermined society's trust in our activity. There is no novelty in my writing that every group of leaders, regardless of the level, is compromised if it bases its activities on people whose knees and neck are always bent to supply only such information as is tailor-made to the expectations of somebody at the top.

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The correctness of the resolutions of the Ninth Congress was confirmed fully by what the Tarnow voivodship party organization and the entire party experienced following upon the implementation of those resolutions. That same period likewise produced many phenomena that verified certain assessments and related forecasts, as well as new experiences in party activity. But before that point was achieved, there was the period prior to the Ninth Extraordinary Congress.

For the aktiv membership, party activity from August 1980 until the congress meant entire days spent at meetings. Sometimes, in the course of a day, we attended several meetings. The majority of these meetings amounted to a total criticism of everything and everybody. The more emphatically someone criticized, the more he was applauded. If, at that time, the KW [Voivodship Committee] leadership was spared, that was because it was not exercising these functions during that period.

We expected that the course and the resolutions of the Ninth Congress would cool emotions, strengthen party ranks and convince society of its good intentions about undertaking on all fronts a process of renewal of life in our country. Emerging public support for the Ninth Congress alarmed the political opposition, who feared that the working class might desert the ranks of Solidarity and opposition slogans in order to turn to the party. At meetings following the Ninth Congress, there was a growing aggressiveness of a different order. Prompted by the opposition, a part of the party membership started to adopt slogans that discredited the administration and party structures. At union meetings, on the other hand, party members were forced to defend their party membership. Many of them experienced feelings of conflict.

They saw no prospects for the party's coming to their defense, nor complete conditions for launching an offensive. The party, at any rate, was too weak for such an offensive and not visible enough in its defensive efforts. It emerged that the correct decision made by party leaders at that time--that party members should join the new union in order to strengthen party influence--misfired in the context of the tactics of Solidarity extremist circles. Against a background of growing, crude pressure on party elements, there followed a further weakening of party activity.

It must be admitted objectively that, in the period following the congress, the senior members of the party aktiv opposed the demagoguery and erroneous opinions brought from Solidarity. Frequently, however, as a way out of the impasse, they advocated a return to past methods of operation that had been rejected. Social development does not allow for a retreat. Party work must be perfected and adapted according to the needs of new conditions of the internal and external situation.

The growing anti-Soviet climate in the life of society unnerved experienced activists and the majority of party members. They were critical of our inability to identify and punish those that defaced the graves and memorials of the Red Army struggles. They correctly recognized these opposition activities as attempts to portray the entire Polish society as opposing socialism with blind crudeness. What made these activities especially unfortunate was the fact that they were often carried out by youth under the direction of people who owed their education and social advance to socialism.

By the imposition of martial law, the army helped to establish peace and order. Politburo decisions regarding party activity under martial law made possible the ordering of certain cadre matters in the party. In our voivodship, there were not many irregularities. Except in a few isolated cases, we were not obliged to recall comrades from their elected positions, yet the decisions that we did make at that time were essential for the good of the party. The aktiv, devoted to the party, gained a respite.

Our actions taken following the imposition of martial law were based on directing our main effort to strengthening the party organization and rebuilding the economy, rather than ferreting out the opposition. Still, we dealt firmly with those that undertook opposition activity.

After the lid had been put on the political situation, the voivodship echelon, in concert with the voivodship office and the military commissars, proceeded to liquidate the social hot spots that were capable of self-liquidation. Society--the rational people living in our society--were relieved by the ending of anarchy.

As sociopolitical normalization progressed in our voivodship, we showed consistency in reestablishing the principle of applying directives to the various party echelons and elements, factories and institutions. Then, as now, our great emphasis, both in internal party activity and in the formation of its external positions, has been the creation of conditions for the development of independence in the various elements of the state and economic administration as well as in the social organizations operating in our voivodship. While respecting that autonomy, especially in the areas of the planning of tasks, the guaranteeing of funds for their implementation and their implementation itself, we strongly emphasize party inspiration and control.

At the behest of the KW, the burden of executory and control operations of the voivodship party echelon was noticeably shifted, on the one hand, to the KW executive board and issues commissions; on the other hand, there was also a shift to a decidedly more effectively functioning WKR and similar primary

primary level commissions. A positive appraisal of the activity of the decided majority of comrades in elected public offices in the elements of the Tarnow voivodship party organization, however, cannot hide the negative facts of the past 2 years. A number of comrades that various party elements chose in the last reports-elections campaign for elected positions of leadership resigned before their term of office was up. If one takes into account that they were in the main the members that were the most vocal, at meetings and conferences, in their defense of the role and place of elected leaders in party elements, a whole range of questions comes to mind. Did the lack of activism and the resignation of this group of comrades result from a lack of awareness about the burdens that go with holding office, or did they emanate from other causes, such as a difference in understanding about the direction of changes and renewal? At any rate, in the vast majority of cases, it was the attitudes of the very people that were involved that caused their failure to participate in the implementation of the assumptions for which they had fought so actively.

From the foregoing phenomenon, primary party elements must draw profound conclusions in the current report-elections campaign.

The KW secretariat in its work concentrated on strengthening its coordinating and executory functions with regard to the decisions of the KW executive board. Along with the increase in autonomy, ministerial secretaries assumed greater responsibility for the choice of forms and methods in the implementation of tasks and the choice of cadres.

We know that providing for, and methodically organizing lines of communication between the party at all levels and the leadership is a prerequisite for the normal functioning of the party. The rank-and-file membership want to know their leaders not only from the newspapers, but in the flesh as well, from their participation in meetings.

We have developed a number of concrete methods for implementing this basic duty. Twice a year we meet with all delegates at the Voivodship Reports-Elections Conference. Prior to KW deliberations on controversial subjects, we poll the opinions of delegates and the aktiv via correspondence. We have asked all delegates to work on KW issues commissions. The members of the KW executive board and the secretariat are members of plant party organizations (as are most full-time KW employees); we are present at plants on an almost daily basis. Finally, it is a principle that secretariat members attend most of the plenary meetings of committees, plant committees included.

The participation of full-time employees in POP [Primary Party Organization] and OOP [District Party Organization] meetings has been organized and put into practice to discuss the problems of party work from the particular milieus. The result of this is that the POP does not express the necessary recommendations regarding the style of the work of party echelon leaders, including the KW.

The inviting of the specialist aktiv (not only the party aktiv) to the meetings of issues commissions is becoming a permanent practice.

The ties between the echelon aktiv and the POP are to serve primarily to provide comrades with arguments and assistance in their contacts with independents. The contacts of the authorities at all levels with workers, foremen, farmers, mayors, councilmen, the women's aktiv and with young people are all very helpful and effective forms of contact.

The decision to set up Regional Centers for Party Work [ROPP] has proven to be an effective way to inform about and clarify the intentions of party authorities. Although I believe it is too soon to grant this element, which is not included in the Statute, the powers of an echelon, it is performing a useful role.

It is the duty of the KW to be concerned over echelon autonomy and to protect it against the interference of the party apparatus. The profound changes made in elective (full-time) and nonelective functions and the attack launched against the party apparatus in 1980 and 1981 (lasting, with varying degrees of intensity, until the present day) have left the lessons of that period too fresh in our minds to be forgotten. But if we are to build the status of echelons and their executive apparatus, then the principles of selection for party schools and for the reserve cadre cannot be based upon the principles of negative selection; they cannot consist of our prompting, persuading or convincing candidates. Over the long term, we cannot consider it to be normal practice if the director of an enterprise does not aid party economic elements only because he is not sure that the party will guarantee his return to a position of equal status.

Without a committed cadre, trained in and experienced regarding party matters and bolstered by the understanding and the work of the party aktiv, we cannot speak of continuing to build and expand the party. I have in mind here not only the party apparatus but all those that work in structures of authority.

A basic condition for activating the party is to assign tasks to party members. Unfortunately, it is true that not all POP's perform this duty effectively. Assigning party program tasks is the most effective way of party inspiration that we must all learn, thereby applying a system of singling people out and of exercising statutory discipline. The role and the significance of party work in the particular milieus is growing in this context. Regular meetings with party and administrative leaders of the group of the largest plants as well as joint planning meetings of the KW secretariat with KZ executive boards and more frequent working visits to plants perform a vital function in the industrial and economic communities. In these activities, we place much emphasis upon offering inspiration and help in training in the economic reform area, thereby eliminating the pressures and interference that limit the autonomy of the managers of these plants. Economic results and the obvious trends in this area confirm the correctness of the path we have chosen, even though we still consider them to be insufficient compared with needs and, in many cases, possibilities as well.

On the other hand, we are aware that rural POP's are battling many problems. Despite the many efforts and the noticeable improvement in this area (we are

cooperating with ZSL circles), our impact upon the development of the social situation, and the rural production situation in particular, continues to be limited. In this group of POP's, we place great emphasis upon the proper party inspiration and control of activities of the gmina administration and the units that serve farming and the agriculture-food industry.

Both party echelons and the leaders of youth organizations note the positive impact of the implementation of Ninth KC Plenum resolutions upon the situation among the youth community. We are attempting to maintain more frequent working contacts with youth groups. This is fostered by the generally favorable political atmosphere that reigns among committed youth and by the fact that young people see the need for such contact. We also respect the autonomy of the youth organizations, but we require activism from party elements in taking up youth issues and in inspiring youth activities. We cannot identify the atmosphere that exists among committed youth, however, with the mood of all youth.

We are deeply disturbed by the attitude of indifference that emanates from many youth circles and by the problems this creates in our attempts to expand the influence and the impact of youth organizations. We are likewise disturbed by some immature manifestations of competition between organizations and their isolationism. Through party activities, we aim to create conditions enabling youth organizations to take the offensive more, particularly in the workers' community and in the schools. We are focusing a considerable part of our efforts on the educational community. Through July of this year, our actions were not always aided by some central decisions, particularly the phenomena of liberalism in the assessments of teachers' attitudes.

As I wrote in the first part of this article, despite the fact that it has been 2-and-1/2 years since the Ninth Extraordinary Party Congress, it is too soon to make definitive evaluations and suggestions. We are in the midst of the period of struggle and of the incorporation (and not only into party life) of its farreaching and historic decisions. The resolutions of this congress demonstrated the only valid solutions for the difficult problems that faced Poland and the party at the end of the 1970's/beginning of the 1980's. Now we are beginning to emerge from the profound and difficult crisis that enveloped our political, social, economic and cultural life. We are beginning to restore stability to the economy. We are drawing conclusions and we are amassing new experiences, both nationwide and locally. The return of stability and the reform of life are difficult, enormously difficult tasks whose solution does not come about easily. They are determined by internal and external circumstances. The ultimate result, however, is determined by people, the party aktiv and party members, by all patriotically-minded Poles.

8536

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PRESS COVERS BOBROWSKI SERVICE AWARD, BIRTHDAY HONORS

Jaruzelski Visit, Congratulations

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 18-19 Feb 84 pp 1, 2

[PAP report: "W. Jaruzelski Visits Cz. Bobrowski"]

[Text] Chairman of the Council of Ministers, General of the Army Wojciech Jaruzelski paid a visit to Professor Czeslaw Bobrowski on his 80th birthday on 17 February.

The premier recalled Cz. Bobrowski's meritorious contributions during the post-war period of economic reconstruction of the country and his prominent scientific and pedagogical contributions in the field of the economic sciences.

In recent years, Professor Cz. Bobrowski, while being active in the Economic Reform Commission and chairing the Advisory Economic Council, provided very valuable contributions to the program for overcoming the crisis and restructuring the national economy.

W. Jaruzelski expressed his best wishes for Bobrowski and his continued fruitful work for the country, his good health and happiness.

Deputy Premier Manfred Gorywoda and Minister for Economic Reform Wladyslaw Baka participated in the meeting.

Biographic Sketch

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 18-19 Feb 84 p 2

[PAP report]

[Text] "Two factors made me what I am: an interest in the world, in what is on the other side of the mountain, and chance," said Professor Czeslaw Bobrowski at the Polish Economic Society meeting where Polish economists gathered to celebrate his 80th birthday on 17 February. The guest of honor's summation is the most apt description of his colorful and rich life which was so closely interwoven with the fate of Poland.

In 1925 he graduated from the University of Warsaw and 2 years later from the Ecole des Sciences Politiques in Paris. During the years 1935-1939, he served as director of the Economic Department of the Ministry of Agriculture and Agricultural Reform. He participated in the September Campaign in 1939 and in the French Campaign in 1940; after crossing the frontier he was interned in Switzerland. He escaped from the camp, and fought with the Polish partisan units in France.

After the liberation of Poland, from 1945 to 1948, in his capacity as chairman of the Central Planning Office and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers Economic Committee, he was one of co-authors of the 3-Year Plan for Reconstruction of the Country. Until 1956, he did scientific work in France. During the years 1957-1963 he held the office of deputy chairman of the Economic Council attached to the Council of Ministers and subsequently returned to scientific and teaching work at the University of Warsaw. Also, he taught abroad and served as a UN adviser in developing countries. Economists elected him chairman of the board of the Polish Society of Economists. Also, he was appointed chairman of the Council of Experts attached to the Council of Ministers, and chairman of the Advisory Economic Council.

Czeslaw Bobrowski, during his 50 years of scientific and teaching work, has made a large contribution to the development of Polish economics. He is the author of several books, including "Socialist Yugoslavia" (1956), "At the Source of Socialist Planning" (1956), "The Theories of Economic Growth and the Contemporary Capitalism" (1962); he also authored numerous press articles. His approach to the real world is rational and constructive, thanks to which he is admired in many circles.

#### TRYBUNA LUDU 'Special Award'

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Feb 84 p 2

[Article by K. Kraus]

[Text] At the end of June 1981 there was a small item in the press informing that in response to a suggestion by the chairman of the Planning Commission, the chairman of the Council of Ministers decided to establish a "Council of Economic Experts."

This was to be an advisory body functioning at the side of the government planning staff, engaged in preparing comments on subjects related to the country's economic development, developing planning methodology and producing expert opinions, conclusions and estimates.

The chairmanship of the "Council of Experts" and the task of its organization was entrusted to Professor Czeslaw Bobrowski. In the 1930's he was the editor of the periodical GOSPODARKA NARODOWA [National Economy], which proclaimed the necessity of using planning tools for economic development. During the years 1946-47, he was the chairman of the Central Planning Office and co-author of the 3-Year Plan which served as the basis for national



reconstruction after the war. From 1957, he was deputy chairman of the Economic Council and, since 1959, a professor at the University of Warsaw.

This was the genesis of an institution which no longer needs an introduction because it has become a permanent part of the scenery of Poland in the 1980's: the Advisory Economic Council.

Very quickly, this council, one of many bodies intended to provide service to important but specialized (along individual industries) organs of the state economic administration, has become an organization performing tasks which far exceeded those originally envisaged for it. No problems related to the key issues of social and economic strategy are addressed without the participation of a team of the most prominent representatives of economic theory and practice who were assembled around the most senior Polish economic thinker (Professor Czeslaw Bobrowski turned 80 today) and are directed by him with an energy and drive that many members of the younger generation of economists and economic managers could rightly envy. It was not by chance that a suggestion has been made to award the special TRYBUNA LUDU prize to Professor Bobrowski specifically for his work in the Advisory Economic Council.

Already in the spring of 1982 when the Council of Ministers was determining the specific tasks, status and membership of the "Council of Experts" it was decided to broaden the charter of the new social institution created by Professor Czeslaw Bobrowski. The "Council of Experts" had been intended originally to function as an advisory body to the Planning Commission but it was assigned a new, much more responsible and far-ranging set of tasks.

The Advisory Economic Council, as the institution was finally named, became a consulting and policy-formulating body for the Council of Ministers, for the Presidium of the Government and for the chairman of the Council of Ministers. One of the tasks assigned to the Advisory Council was to develop and present policies in key social and economic matters.

Some days later, when Comrade Jaruzelski participated in the Advisory Council meeting, he emphatically stated: "At this time, we must skillfully combine actions which produce a fast pay-off, mostly to soften the tough living conditions of the population, with efforts to implement such changes in the socio-economic structure and its operating system that will lead us in the next few years back on the path of economic growth. In these tasks, the government expects help from the Advisory Economic Council. We especially need policy recommendations."

At the inaugural meeting of the Advisory Council, the premier said that it would be difficult to direct the complex economy of the state without intellectual support free of the pressure of current events and problems. The Advisory Council must become one of the essential instruments in the dialog between the authorities and society.

The universally recognized high standing of the Advisory Council as the society's consultative body is not based primarily on its backing by the government but, rather, on fruitful adherence to the principle that the

council's conclusions and recommendations must not be tainted by opportunism, must not be "courtiers'" opinions which, unfortunately, happened so often in the past in various "expert" bodies. The efforts of such an institution make sense only if they are based on openly expressed opinions resulting from experience and based on science; they make sense only if they never try to please but can win the argument because they are based on expertise and can lead to optimal solutions. Responsible consulting requires independence which is best guaranteed by open relations with society regarding both the government's positions and those held by the involved experts. Arguments should be decided on substantive merits.

Such a model has been developed not only in theory but also in practice by the government and the experts assembled in the Advisory Economic Council. From the first council report published in May 1982, which presented its view on the state of the economy and the way to get out of the crisis, through numerous later reports, questionnaires and other papers dealing with the overall situation as well as the most important individual problems, there were no subjects which were "taboo" or areas where some difficult problems were hidden from the public. As there must be, there is integrity, honesty and professional competence in this dialog.

This character of the Advisory Council reflects primarily the personality of the professor who directed its work and who won the TRYBUNA LUDU Special Prize in 1983. On his 80th birthday, we wish him many more years of active scientific, organizing and social work as well as all personal happiness.

8891

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SOCIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF ECONOMIC CRISIS ON FAMILY PROJECTED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish No 37, 13 Feb 84 p 3

[Interview with Professor Mikolaj Kozakiewicz by Bozena Czyz: "Family in the Face of Crisis"]

[Text] [Question] What is Polish family of the 1980's like? How does it live, what are its most important values, what models does it pass to the young generation? Has the economic crisis also become a moral crisis for the family? RZECZPOSPOLITA's correspondent talks with the chairman of the Society for the Development of the Family, Professor Mikolaj Kozakiewicz.

[Answer] It seems as if the Polish family in time of crisis behaves in ways that contradict common sense and expectations. There is a shortage of housing, of necessary household goods, of products for children, not to mention the fact that everyday difficulties make excellent fuel for exacerbating conflicts among people. It would seem that in such circumstances people should lose their desire to marry and have children, and that in the face of daily difficulties marriages would fall apart more easily.

However, statistical data in recent years indicate that completely opposite processes are taking place. Compared with 1970 and 1975, last year the number of marriages increased, the number of divorces went down, and a record high birthrate has put us in the lead among European countries.

[Question] How can this absence of logic be explained?

[Answer] Such behavior is indeed contrary to logic, but only of a simplified kind which equates a decline in living conditions with a concurrent atrophy of human values that are not contingent on circumstances, such as family, marriage and children. And these are precisely fundamental values which acquire more significance now. The crisis has made some other life goals, related to consumption, unattainable for many people. But what has remained are emotions which are not subject to distributive controls and do not depend on the amount of money in one's possession. For many of us the family has become a value and an escape. We find shelter at home, a safe place in a world which is becoming ever more dangerous.

[Question] Does it mean that the difficult economic situation strengthens the family?

[Answer] This is a psychological paradox, but the difficulties have clearly influenced the strengthening of ties and family stability. However, weak families disintegrate all the more easily when the external stress increases. Thus the importance of the family grows. In times of crisis people show more initiative. More tasks which until recently were given to service enterprises are now being done at home. This transitory symptom of families' civilizational regression usually happens at women's expense. Also, the young become more dependent on the family, even in terms of living. Ten or twelve years ago alarms were sounded that the caring and economic family functions were disappearing. Now, the Polish family has regained these functions, even to a larger degree than before.

[Question] However, there are negative phenomena as well...

[Answer] Sure. One such phenomenon is the internal isolation of some families. After a while a strong, integrated family isolates itself from the rest of society and its members act on the principle that if things are not good outside, let us at least do what is necessary to have it come out all right inside the family. In the long run this is utopian because every society is like a system of mutually connected vessels, and the family constitutes one of its elements. Therefore, it cannot exist only for itself, or independently of society.

[Question] The excessive burdening of women with household duties is characteristic of the contemporary family model. In view of this, is it still possible to talk about the existence of partnership between the spouses?

[Answer] The partnership model follows precisely from women's employment, from the impossibility of them having exclusive responsibility for the children, and from the fact that women's wages comprise one-third of family income. It is not possible to preserve patriarchal structures in such conditions. The partnership model is imposed by the changed conditions of family life and the expansion of women's role, except for those situations where women withdraw from their careers. The partnership model has also been expanded by the participation of children. If parents are not home for most of the day, then the mutual relations must be based on trust. And if the mother is not home for half a day, the organization of family life must be based on a strict division of roles which includes the children.

[Question] Multigenerational families are also becoming more frequent...

[Answer] For many years, especially in the cities, there was a universal trend toward the two-generation family, i.e., parents and children. The housing crisis has been responsible for the cohabitation of parents, children and grandchildren, often in small spaces and contrary to people's wish to live separately. This situation has been imposed by necessity, and it is little desired by some. It is a source of conflict and often causes the disintegration of family life. On the other hand, it increases natural interest in older people and is conducive to mutual help and the strengthening of attitudes of solidarity. Of course, I am again thinking about good families. In a family which has little cohesion, such situations stimulate rivalry, dislike and egoism.

[Question] What will Polish families look like in the next decade?

[Answer] In general, the family is slowly but steadily being transformed due to deeper socioeconomic changes which point to constant developmental tendencies in society and lead to permanent transformations. The crisis is a catastrophic phenomenon which may and should turn out to be transitory; it is a disturbance of normal developmental trends, not a qualitatively new trend. I think that as the economic, social and psychological conditions of life in our country become normalized we shall return to those changes, to that level of certain qualities which characterized family life before the crisis. The prolongation of the process of emerging from trouble may cause certain harmful phenomena which affect the fate of the generation beginning its own marital life in today's difficult times. However, I do not think that the picture of the present situation of Polish families provides a good basis for a forecast of what the family will look like in 20 or 30 years. For we live in an abnormally difficult period and it is impossible to foresee on such a basis what family reactions will be in normal conditions--conditions desired by us all.

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